

# **Landscape changes in East Berlin after 1989:**

## **A comprehensive grounded theory analysis through three case studies**

### **Dissertation**

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades  
doctor rerum naturalium (Dr. rer. nat.)  
im Fach Geographie

eingereicht an der  
Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät II  
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

von

Mary Hartshorn Dellenbaugh, BS, MA

Präsident der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin  
Prof. Dr. Jan-Hendrik Olbertz

Dekan der Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät II  
Prof. Dr. Elmar Kulke

Gutachter/Gutachterin  
1. Prof. Dr. Dagmar Haase  
2. Prof. Dr. Dieter Rink  
3. Dr. Andrej Holm

Tag der Verteidigung: 29 November 2013



## Contents

<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>Zusammenfassung</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>10</b>
1.1 Ozymandias, Nationalism and Symbolic Capital .....	10
1.2 Symbolism, Nation-Building, and the End of the Cold War .....	11
1.3 Berlin between East and West.....	12
1.4 This Research Project .....	13
1.5 Hypotheses.....	14
1.6 Organization of this Book .....	14
<b>2. Theoretical, Historical, &amp; Scientific Context</b> .....	<b>16</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	16
2.2 Theoretical Background .....	16
2.2.1 <i>The Concept of “Landscape” in Cultural Studies and New Cultural Geography</i> .....	16
2.2.2 <i>Absolute Space vs. Relative Space</i> .....	18
2.2.3 <i>Space as a Political Good – National Spaces, National Narratives</i> .....	18
2.2.4 <i>Space as an Economic Good – Branding, Marketing &amp; Tourism</i> .....	20
2.3. Historical Background.....	22
2.3.1 <i>Germany’s Development and Narrative during Division and Reunification</i> .....	22
2.3.2 <i>The Politicization of Berlin’s Urban Landscape</i> .....	24
2.4 Semiotics as an Empirical Entry Point.....	27
2.4.1 <i>Peirce, Saussure, and the Sign</i> .....	27
2.4.2 <i>Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Axes</i> .....	28
2.4.3 <i>Greimas’ Semiotic Square</i> .....	29
2.4.4 <i>Denotation, Connotation, &amp; Orders of Signification</i> .....	29
2.5 Summary .....	30
<b>3. Methods</b> .....	<b>31</b>
3.1 Structure and Development of the Project .....	32
3.2 Case Study Selection.....	34
3.3 Core Questions .....	37
3.4 Data Collection .....	37
3.4.1 <i>Demographic Data</i> .....	38
3.4.2 <i>Interviews</i> .....	40
3.4.3 <i>Newspaper Articles</i> .....	43
3.4.4 <i>Primary Literature about Berlin</i> .....	44
3.5 Data Analysis.....	44
3.5.1 <i>Quantitative Approach</i> .....	44
3.5.2 <i>Coding and Qualitative Content Analysis</i> .....	46
3.5.3 <i>Discourse Analysis</i> .....	47
3.5.4 <i>Semiotic Analysis</i> .....	48
3.5.5 <i>Inductive Analysis and Synthesis</i> .....	48

<b>4. Results.....</b>	<b>49</b>
4.1 Semiotic Analysis.....	49
4.1.1 East Berlin as a Syntagm .....	49
4.1.2 Place Names.....	50
4.1.3 Restructuring .....	54
4.2 Discourse Analysis.....	61
4.3 Inductive Analysis and Synthesis .....	65
4.3.1 Urban Development Trends in Germany since 1949.....	65
4.3.2 Urban Development Trends in Eastern Europe since 1989.....	68
4.3.3 East Germany-Specific Development Trends since 1989 .....	70
4.3.4 Material Development Trends in Berlin since 1989 .....	74
<b>5. Discussion &amp; Conclusion.....</b>	<b>77</b>
5.1 Revisiting the Hypotheses .....	77
H1: Semiotics is an effective analytical method for the analysis of cultural landscapes. ....	77
H2: The symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 was dominated by a western cultural mythos which pervaded the symbolic capital and architectural style of the new/old capital city.....	77
H3: The changes to the symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 reflected a very specific and narrow pre-WWI historical narrative.....	77
H4: This discursive transference had tangible material effects on the material and demographic development of the Eastern districts. ....	78
H5: The stigmatization of Berlin-Marzahn directly after German reunification was primarily due to this discursive transference. ....	78
5.2 Theoretical Implications – Returning to Grounded Theory .....	79
5.3 Possibilities for Further Research.....	79
The Economization of the Urban Landscape.....	79
Symbolic Changes to Post-Socialist Space.....	79
5.4 Conclusion & Outlook.....	80
<b>Addendum - Publications .....</b>	<b>82</b>
Article 1: (Re)Presentation of “the” past after German reunification in Berlin-Mitte, and its implications for cultural production through appropriation of space .....	83
Article 2: Die Stigmatisierung Berlin-Marzahns als Ausdruck kulturelle Hegemonie des Westens im vereinten Deutschland (The stigmatization of Berlin-Marzahn as an expression of Western cultural hegemony in post-reunification Germany) .....	93
Article 3: Urban discourse paradigms in East Berlin after 1989: A critical analysis through two case studies in Berlin.....	106
<b>Sources .....</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>Appendix 1 – Exposés.....</b>	<b>i</b>
Appendix 1.1: The role of structural changes to built space in the (un-)stigmatization of Berlin districts since the fall of the Berlin Wall (26 July 2010).....	ii
Appendix 1.2: Hegemonic discourse, urban disorder & neighborhood stigma: On the reciprocal role of characteristics of, changes to and discourse about Friedrichshain & Marzahn, 1989-2009 (21 December 2010) .....	xv
Appendix 1.3: The influence of stigma on the social (re)production of urban images in Berlin, Germany (16 July 2011).....	xxxiii
Appendix 1.4: Stigma & Disorder in the Urban Context: 3 studies in the relationship between demographics, discourse & disorder in Berlin, Germany, 1990-2010 (24 October 2011) .....	xliv



Appendix 1.5: 3 Case Studies in the Production of Topographic Discourse in and about East Berlin, 1950 to 2010 (11 March 2012).....	lv
<b>Appendix 2 – Interview Questions .....</b>	<b>lix</b>
Appendix 2.1: Request for Interview & Interview Guideline, Round 1 .....	lx
Appendix 2.2: Request for Interview & Interview Guideline, Round 2 .....	lxi
<b>Appendix 3 – Examples of Newspaper Keyword Search Results.....</b>	<b>lxii</b>

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 84). .....	28
Figure 2. Greimas' semiotic square. Dashed arrows show the relation between contraries, solid lines show the relation between contradictories and dotted lines show the relation of implication. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 107).....	29
Figure 3. Orders of signification. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 140).....	30
Figure 4. Flowchart of the research process. ....	32
Figure 5. The three case study areas. Source: Wikimedia Commons.....	35
Figure 6. Examples of descriptive word clusters from the newspaper search.....	43
Figure 7. Screenshot of codes and categories used to code the interview material. ....	47
Figure 8. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 84). ....	49
Figure 9. The cultural landscape as a syntagm.....	49
Figure 10. Syntagm of urban planning.....	50
Figure 11. Map of the location of the former Clara-Zetkin-Straße. Source: Google Maps.....	51
Figure 12. Greimas' semiotic square for street names. Dashed arrows show the relation between contraries, solid lines show the relation between contradictories and dotted lines show the relation of implication. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 107). ....	52
Figure 13. Orders of signification of Clara-Zetkin-Straße. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 140). ....	53
Figure 14. Greimas' semiotic square for urban planning. Dashed arrows show the relation between contraries, solid lines show the relation between contradictories and dotted lines show the relation of implication. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 107). ....	57
Figure 15. Orders of signification of <i>Planwerk Innenstadt</i> . Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 140).....	58
Figure 16. Map of the central ensemble in Berlin-Mitte. The red arrow shows the entry of Karl-Marx-Allee, the yellow polygon indicates the extent of the main ensemble, and the blue arrow indicates the main thoroughfare <i>Unter den Linden</i> , which ends at Brandenburg Gate and the former border between East and West Berlin. Source: Google Maps.....	59
Figure 17. Greimas' semiotic square for the Palace of the Republic/City Palace debate. Dashed arrows show the relation between contraries, solid lines show the relation between contradictories and dotted lines show the relation of implication. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 107) .....	60
Figure 18. Development of the architectural discourse. Phenomena in the US are shown in white, in West Germany in green and in East Germany in blue. Source: Author.....	63
Figure 19. "The human will can overcome anything. This house once stood in another country." Apartment building in Brunnenstraße, Berlin-Mitte. Photo: Author. ....	64
Figure 20. Berlin's spatial contexts.....	65

Figure 21. Berlin's districts after the district reform of 2001. The case study areas, the sub-districts Friedrichshain & Marzahn, are highlighted. Source: Wikimedia commons. ....	107
Figure 22. The temporal development of urban discourse paradigms in Berlin. Source: author. ....	109
Figure 23. Population development in Berlin, 1991-2008. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg. ....	114
Figure 24. Live births in Berlin, 1991-2008. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg. ....	115
Figure 25. Migration balance for Berlin, 1991 - 2008. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg. ....	115
Figure 26. Migration to and from Berlin from the surrounding state of Brandenburg, 1991-2008. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg. ....	116
Figure 27. Net household income for Friedrichshain, 1991-2000. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg. ....	118
Figure 28. Diagram of built space stakeholders. ....	iv
Figure 29. Visual representation of the research questions. Arrows point from independent to dependent variables (more in section multiple regression below). ....	v
Figure 30. The districts of Berlin. The case study areas are highlighted in yellow. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	xi
Figure 31. Key factors in the creation and perpetuation of neighborhood stigmatization. ....	xvii
Figure 32. Visual depiction of changes in stigmatization. ....	xviii
Figure 33. The districts of Berlin. The case study areas are highlighted in yellow. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	xx
Figure 34. Diagram of built space stakeholders. ....	xxi
Figure 35. Visual representation of the research problem. ....	xxiii
Figure 36. Flowchart of research process. ....	xxiv
Figure 37. Visual representation of the discourse levels in this project. ....	xxvi
Figure 38. Operationalization of Goffman's Stigma Theory. ....	xxxvi
Figure 39. The districts of Berlin. The case study areas are highlighted in yellow. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	xxxvii
Figure 40. Operationalization of Goffman's Stigma Theory. ....	xlvi
Figure 41. The districts of Berlin. The case study areas are highlighted in yellow. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	xlvii
Figure 42. The case study area (Eastern Friedrichshain) is denoted by a red solid line. Friedrichshain's administrative border is denoted by a dashed black line. Source: Google Maps. ....	xlviii
Figure 43. The district of Marzahn (the case study area) is shown in this figure bounded by a solid red line. Source: Google Maps. ....	xlxi

## List of Tables

Table 1. Development of the project, 2010-2013.....	33
Table 2. Summary of empirical material used in the research. ....	37
Table 3. Demographic data categories that were available on a district level for Berlin between 1992 and 2010. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg.....	38
Table 4. Simple list of interviews.....	40
Table 5. Typology of Interviewees. ....	42
Table 6. Establishment of urban redevelopment areas in Berlin in the early 90s. Areas in Eastern districts are marked in gray, those in the inner-city districts are marked in a darker shade of gray. ....	113
Table 7. Active & passive relationships between the various actors and stakeholder groups and the discourse & built space. ....	iv
Table 8. Social, demographic, structural and economic data to be gathered. ....	vi
Table 9. Data about changes to built form to be gathered.....	viii
Table 10. Active & passive relationships between the various actors and stakeholder groups and the discourse & built space. ....	xxii
Table 11. Social, demographic, and structural data to be gathered for the case study areas.....	xxiv
Table 12. Types of interviews to be performed, including information about whether the interview will be performed in person or by telephone, in a group or one-on-one, and if the interview will be structured, semistructured, or unstructured. Where the information bridges both columns, appropriate related interviewees will be selected from within Berlin or the subject matter (in the case of researchers).....	xxvii
Table 13. Social, demographic, and structural data gathered for the case study areas. ....	xxxix
Tables 14 & 15. Multiple Linear Regressions.....	xli

## Acknowledgements

I'd like to thank the colleagues at the Humboldt Universität and UFZ, in particular my advisers Dagmar Haase & Dieter Rink, but also Annegret Haase, Kathrin Großmann, Marlies Schulz & Andrej Holm, as well as countless colleagues at conferences over the last 3 years, for their time, effort and feedback. Without their professional guidance, this work would not have become the success that it is. For your advice and time, thank you.

A big thank you also goes to my interview partners, without whose time and candid statements, I never would have come to the conclusions that I came to. Herzlichen Dank für Ihre Zeit!

Thank you to my parents and my friends, who patiently listened to my ramblings, worries, and problems, even when they couldn't relate. You buoyed me through dark nights and kept me sane on this long road, all the way through to the very end.

Lastly, I'd like to thank those who helped me with transcription, translation, and copyediting. Your time and effort meant and means a lot to me.

Thank you all for your support – the journey was long and the road was rocky, but the company along the way lightened the load.

*"We are continually faced with a series of great opportunities brilliantly disguised as insoluble problems." - John W. Gardner*

## Abstract

This dissertation describes a range of connected changes that took place in the eastern half of Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The three articles tell the story of immediate changes to discourses about built spaces and built space forms (article 1), symbolic appropriations in the negotiations surrounding the creation of a new unified Berliner inner-city (article 2), and the effect of the changes in discursive and symbolic restructurings in the subsequent development of two Berlin districts with different built space types (article 3)(Dellenbaugh, n.d., 2014b). Under the framework of grounded theory, this project operationalized several semiotic analysis techniques for the study of the cultural landscape and combined these with discourse analysis and demographic data to derive the results presented in the three articles described above.

The project was guided by five hypotheses:

H1: Semiotics is an effective analytical method for the analysis of cultural landscapes.

H2: The symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 was dominated by a western cultural mythos which pervaded the symbolic capital and architectural style of the new/old capital city.

H3: The changes to the symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 reflected a very specific and narrow pre-WWI historical narrative.

H4: This discursive transference had tangible material effects on the material and demographic development of the Eastern districts.

H5: The stigmatization of Berlin-Marzahn directly after German reunification was primarily due to this discursive transference.

All five hypotheses could be successfully tested and validated from the empirical research. The mix of methods presented in this project proved well-suited to the structural analysis of cultural landscapes. Both it and the theory developed, namely that the narrative of the dominant power, economic, political, or colonial, can be “read” by examining the symbols embedded in the cultural landscape, would benefit from further research in other contexts.

**Keywords:** Berlin, semiotics, symbolic capital, cultural landscape, Plattenbau, critical reconstruction, German reunification, national narrative, Planwerk Innenstadt

## **Zusammenfassung**

Die Arbeit behandelt eine Reihe zusammenhängender Veränderungen, die nach dem Fall der Mauer im Ostteil von Berlin stattfanden. In drei Aufsätzen wird die Geschichte des unmittelbaren Wandels der Diskurse über Raumtypologien dargestellt, die symbolische Aneignung beschrieben, die in den Aushandlungsprozessen um die Schaffung einer vereinten Berliner Innenstadt stattfand und die Auswirkungen der Veränderungen in der diskursiven und symbolischen Neuausrichtung am Beispiel der Entwicklung zweier Berliner Bezirke veranschaulicht. Die Ergebnisse entstammen dabei einem Methoden-Mix aus verschiedenen Ansätzen der semiotischen Analyse und Diskursanalyse sowie der Auswertung demographischer Daten.

Das Projekt gliedert sich in fünf Leithypothesen:

H1: Semiotik ist eine effektive analytische Methode für die Untersuchung von Kulturlandschaften.

H2: Die symbolische Landschaft Ostberlins nach 1990 wurde von einem „westlichen“ kulturellen Mythos beherrscht, der sich im symbolischen Kapital und im Architekturstil der neuen/alten Hauptstadt niederschlug.

H3: Der Wandel der symbolischen Landschaft Ostberlins nach 1990 ist Ausdruck eines auf die Zeit vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg verengten historischen Narrativs.

H4: Die diskursive Übertragung hatte konkrete Auswirkungen auf die räumliche und demographische Entwicklung der Ost-Berliner Bezirke.

H5: Die Ursache für die Stigmatisierung Berlin-Marzahns direkt nach der deutschen Wiedervereinigung lag primär in dieser diskursiven Übertragung.

Die fünf Hypothesen werden in dem Projekt erfolgreich überprüft und bestätigt. Der Methoden-Mix erweist sich als gut geeignet für die strukturelle Analyse von Kulturlandschaften. Sowohl diese Analyse als auch die daraus entwickelte Theorie, dass die Symbole der herrschenden ökonomischen, politischen oder kolonialen Macht, die in die Kulturlandschaft eingebettet sind, „gelesen“ werden können, weisen vielversprechende Anknüpfungspunkte für weitere Forschungskontexte auf.

Schlüsselwörter: Berlin, Semiotik, symbolisches Kapital, Kulturlandschaft, Plattenbau, kritische Rekonstruktion, Deutsche Wiedervereinigung, nationale Narrative, Planwerk Innenstadt

*"Two vast and trunkless legs of stone  
Stand in the desert. Near them on the sand,  
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown  
And wrinkled lip and sneer of cold command  
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read  
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,  
The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed.  
And on the pedestal these words appear:  
'My name is Ozymandias, King of Kings:  
Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair!'  
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay  
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,  
The lone and level sands stretch far away".*

From *Ozymandias* by Percy Bysshe Shelley

# 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Ozymandias, Nationalism and Symbolic Capital

The 1818 sonnet *Ozymandias* by Percy Bysshe Shelley describes in moving couplets the remains of a statue of Ramses the II, and serves as a good starting point for a discussion of landscape, national narrative, and symbolic capital for two reasons.

First, the fictitious inscription on Ramses' pedestal invokes a time before the concept of nation existed in its formal modern form (Anderson, 2006). The unquestioning authority of the monarch is in fact brought to a finer point through the irony of the image created by Shelley, himself the product of a monarchical era. The romantic trope of ruins in far-flung and exotic lands mixes here with the pertinent reality of Shelley's age, a full century before the founding of the league of nations, marked by Benedict Anderson as the creation of "the legitimate international norm[of] the nation-state" (Anderson, 2006). Thus, the concept of political territory invoked in this work stands as the first basis upon which this work is built.

Second, this sonnet calls to mind the contextuality of symbols, both in their existence and their power. Indeed, Ramses' position as ruler, and the glories attributed him were, in our hypothetical ancient Egypt, immediately clear upon seeing his statue to the denizens of that empire, as well as those familiar with the aesthetic tropes of the time. Indeed, the (then) new science indirectly referred to in this poem, archaeology, is the science of discovering and deciphering just such codes. In analytical terms, we are referring here to a sign-system, as it is commonly referred to in semiotics (Chandler, 2007). Sign-systems are ways of creating meaning through the common production of symbols; they are critical to social and cultural production, context-dependent, and socially created and maintained both actively and passively. In our sonnet, the size of the statue (epically proportioned), its material (stone), and its stylistic characteristics (facial expression, aesthetic style, wording of inscription), all demonstrate



choices on the part of the sculptor, who however was working within the specific sign-system of his or her time. In this case, the size and durability of the statue speaks to its importance, and the stylistic characteristics to the projected imaginary of the great ruler.

This poem serves additionally as good starting point for this dissertation for its invocation of space and the role of its attendant symbols. Here, the symbolic capital of the fallen statue creates a literary parallel with the absence of other signs of the civilization. The coherence of signs and their collective symbolic capital are, in part, dependent upon their placement, both absolute and relative. Alone and ruined, the statue of Ramses sends a very different message than embedded in its ensemble and surrounded by the works of its patron.

Thus, this dissertation weaves together the tropes evoked by Shelley of nationalism, symbolism and space, and places these firmly on the ground of current postmodernist thought.

## 1.2 Symbolism, Nation-Building, and the End of the Cold War

Similar to Shelley's Ramses, rulers have long used icons to create ownership, establish territory, and, later, build feelings of belonging and identity across long distances (Anderson, 2006; Hobsbawm, 1992). National symbols represent iconographic choices. From the German eagle to the Scottish lion to the colors of the flag, symbols are used to convey specific messages. However, symbols, as we will see in the examination of semiotics, are arbitrary; Germany could just as easily have a lion and Scotland an eagle. The meanings attributed to these symbols are equally arbitrary, imbued and constructed as they are through social action.

These debates are particularly interesting in light of changing regimes. 1989/1990 marked a significant turning point in Euro-American history. The fall of the Berlin Wall profoundly changed the global order, and ushered in a range of changes in Eastern Europe. Fundamental economic restructuring throughout the former eastern bloc countries was underpinned by fundamental symbolic restructuring; signs of the former regime were cleared away to make way for capitalism, democracy, and the free market. These changes were most apparent in the *cities* of the eastern bloc, and took many forms, from street names to urban planning.

The study of these symbolic changes and the self-presentation of the cities provides a unique insight into the symbolic presentation not only of the cities themselves, but also of the countries in which they are located. Seen from the perspective of urban and cultural studies research, the use (and exclusion from use) of symbols indicates not only the hierarchy of symbols in various contexts of meaning and interpretation, but also the relative positioning of spaces through the use of symbols. In this way, spaces can be branded as "patriotic", "democratic", "Western" or any range of relative modifiers through the implementation of symbols such as street names, architectural forms, and monuments. These symbols, much like the discourses in which they are embedded, change and shift over time. Thus, the landscape of the city is a mosaic of spaces that are actively rewritten, and spaces that serve as a reminder of the past, albeit perhaps reframed in a new context. The unique aspect of the urban landscape as a cultural archive is its durability; urban structures such as buildings and street names are not so easily changed, and changes to them are not always tacitly accepted by the larger populace.

The symbolic restructuring of post-socialist and post-communist space took three main paths: the removal of icons of the former regime, the reframing of extant structures often too large or

prominent to change, and the creation of new symbols and structures, which will be examined through the case study of post-1990 East Berlin.

### 1.3 Berlin between East and West

Andreas Huyssen describes these conditions with relation to Berlin aptly in his essay “The Voids of Berlin”:

“There is perhaps no other major Western city that bears the marks of twentieth-century history as intensely and self-consciously as Berlin. This city-text has been written, erased, and rewritten throughout this violent century, and its legibility relies as much on visible markers of built space as on images and memories repressed and ruptured by traumatic events.” (Huyssen, 1997, p. 59-60)

Indeed, Berlin’s urban fabric has been shaped, destroyed, and appropriated by various forces over the last century. From Hitler’s *Germania* to the divided Cold-War-era city, the political history of the city is readily apparent in its built form. The most recent step in the city’s history, German reunification following the fall of the Berlin Wall, has had wide-ranging effects on the urban landscape, both physical and symbolic. While numerous studies have examined single material and immaterial aspects of reunification such as urban planning (Danesch, 2010; Hennecke, 2010), urban development (Häußermann & Kapphann, 2002; Häußermann & Strom, 1994; Strom, 2001), city branding (Colomb, 2012; Häußermann & Colomb, 2003; Hell & Von Moltke, 2005), street renaming (Azaryahu, 1997; De Soto, 1996), and the removal of the *Palast der Republik* (Palace of the Republic) (Birkholz, 2008; Colomb, 2007; Schug, 2007), no one study to date has looked at the breadth and scope of these changes in a comprehensive way. Therefore, this book sets as its goal the empirical meta-analytical semiotic analysis of changes to East Berlin’s cultural landscape since 1990.

Similar to the adage about the blind men and the elephant, a structure whose parts are examined separately can only be understood incompletely. The author argues that this approach is insufficient for comprehending the development of a complex system such as a city, especially in the case of changes’ and processes’ interdependency and interrelatedness. Leaning on the work of Donella Meadows in systems theory (2009), and employing the grounded theory of Glaser & Strauss (1967), this dissertation therefore suggests an innovative new approach to comprehensive urban research using post-1990 East Berlin<sup>1</sup> as a case study. The core of this research project was an in-depth investigation of the spatial and social consequences effects of German reunification in Berlin, from symbolic territorialization to semantic reinterpretation to sociospatial segregation. Using a mix of qualitative and quantitative data and inductive methods, the author has been able to paint a comprehensive snapshot of Berlin’s development from 1989 to present day and infer interrelations that were obscured until now. The author examines the various aspects of the transition after the *Wende* through three very different case study areas: Mitte, Marzahn & Friedrichshain.

---

<sup>1</sup> In the interest of brevity, the term “East Berlin” will be used to refer to the territory formerly known as “Berlin, capital of the GDR”, comprised of the current-day Berlin districts Pankow, Lichtenberg, Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Treptow-Köpenick, and the sub-districts Friedrichshain and Mitte.

## 1.4 This Research Project

This dissertation describes a range of connected changes that took place in the eastern half of Berlin in the years after the fall of the Berlin Wall; the three articles included in this volume tell a story of immaterial and symbolic changes, and their very real material consequences.

Specifically, this dissertation tells the story of immediate changes to discourses about built spaces and built space forms (Dellenbaugh, 2014a), symbolic appropriations in the negotiations surrounding the creation of a new unified Berliner inner-city (Dellenbaugh, 2013), and then the effect of the changes in discursive and symbolic restructurings in the subsequent development of two Berlin districts with different built space types, Friedrichshain & Marzahn (Dellenbaugh, n.d., 2014b).

While any one of these papers could have in itself become the basis for an extensive exegesis, the author holds that it is exactly the combination of theoretical/symbolic and pragmatic/material that allows the complex sociological phenomena of postmodern discursive transfer and semiotic reversal to become “real” in the subsequent development of real lived spaces.

The concept of *landscape* is, because of its flexibility, central to this work. This dissertation deals with landscape as a collective term of relative spatiality, talking specifically about the *cultural landscape*. As will be detailed in the following chapters, the fluidity and subjectivity of “landscape” finds its parallel in the chosen analytical frameworks, semiotics and discourse analysis, as well as the main theoretical underpinnings of social space (Lefebvre, 1974; Löw, 2001) and nationalism (Anderson, 2006).

This dissertation additionally restricts itself both in the spatial and temporal scales, dealing only with changes to the cultural landscape of *East Berlin* since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990.

The term *comprehensive* refers to the meta-analytical nature of the work performed in this project. As will be discussed in detail in the methods section, this work seeks to unite existing research about symbolic and discursive changes into an overarching picture and place this in a socio-historical narrative. To achieve this, the author has employed *grounded theory*. This innovative technique can be summarized as the development of theory from patterns in data.

An additional central concept of this dissertation is *subjectivity* and *meaning*, ideas central to current work in cultural studies and new cultural geography. Questions of the extent of a landscape, the definition of symbols, and the meaning of space will be addressed repeatedly in this work. Of particular importance is the subjectivity and arbitrariness of these definitions, a point that will become abundantly clear over the course of the results and discussion, but also the papers presented in the addendum.

As will be outlined in section 3.1, the research for this dissertation began with the question “why was Berlin-Marzahn stigmatized directly after German reunification?” This simple-sounding question, combined with the grounded theory method, led down a rabbit hole of monumental proportions, and was finally linked to questions of the post-1990 German national identity and its symbolic capital and Berlin’s role in Germany’s reunification. However unlikely it seems, the story begun at the outskirts of Berlin in the socialist housing estates located there

led back through the city to its very core, to the socialist modernist city center, the *Palast der Republik*, and the hundreds of socialist commemorations located there in the form of street names, place names, urban development projects, monuments and public art.

## 1.5 Hypotheses

This work examines the applicability of semiotic and discourse analysis for the interpretation of cultural landscapes, using a significant case study, namely East Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The dissertation not only examines the immaterial changes, but also how they are linked to material changes. The hypotheses are as follows:

**H1:** Semiotics is an effective analytical method for the analysis of cultural landscapes.

**H2:** The symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 was dominated by a western cultural mythos which pervaded the symbolic capital and architectural style of the new/old capital city.

**H3:** The changes to the symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 reflected a very specific and narrow pre-WWI historical narrative.

**H4:** This discursive transference had tangible material effects on the material and demographic development of the Eastern districts.

**H5:** The stigmatization of Berlin-Marzahn *directly* after German reunification was primarily due to this discursive transference.

The overarching goals of this work are both to extend the methodological examination of cultural landscapes, and the related thematic complexes of spatial image, national and local identity, place-making, and symbolic capital, through semiotics, and to test these theories on a prominent case study, East Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall, thereby adding to the base of knowledge about the German national narrative post-1990, the use of cultural semiotics in nation-building activities, and hopefully paving the way for similar studies in other post-socialist and post-communist countries.

## 1.6 Organization of this Book

This document is organized in the following way:

**Section 2** discusses the theoretical, historical and scientific background and justification of methods. The author goes into detail about the sociological and theoretical considerations behind the project and the chosen methodological framework.

**Section 3** presents the methods in detail, including an outline of the conceptual development of the project.

**Section 4** sketches the results, referring heavily to the publications in the addendum. The results are divided into the results of the semiotic analysis (4.1), the discourse analysis (4.2),

and the inductive analysis and synthesis (4.3). This follows the structure of the three articles in the addendum.

**Section 5** discusses the results presented in section 4, revisits the hypotheses, sums up and concludes the argumentation, and critically discusses the relative merits of the approach employed in this research.

## 2

### Theoretical, Historical, & Scientific Context

#### 2.1 Introduction

This project employs sociological conceptualizations of space (Lefebvre, 1974; Löw, 2001) and discourse (Andersen, 2003; Bourdieu, 1989, 1992; Glasze & Mattissek, 2009c) to explore the topics raised in the introduction.

Recent research and thought, above all in critical social and human geography, have explored the disconnection of physical and social space, and the abstraction of space as a sociological concept (Lefebvre, 1974; Löw, 2001; P. Smith, 1999). In the words of Lefebvre, “(social) space is a (social) construct .... space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and action; ... in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 26). In this thesis, the author will deal mostly with Lefebvre’s concept of *representations of space*, “which are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to ‘frontal’ relations” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 33).

Recent urban and spatial research employs or suggests the use of discourse analysis as a tool for understanding and analyzing space, place, and the city (Glasze & Mattissek, 2009b, 2009c; Hastings, 1999, 2000). A discourse is defined for this thesis as a collection of statements in their temporal and cultural context that form concepts and guide the dominant worldview; these concepts can be analyzed through spoken and written textual material. A discourse consists of a complex of statements that are articulated in a temporal-cultural moment (Brailich, Germes, Schirmel, Glasze, & Pütz, 2008). Statements therefore do not exist for themselves, but are rather embedded in both a cultural and temporal context, and must be analyzed *in situ*. Discourse analysis therefore involves constructing an archive, a body of spoken and written statements that determine and derive from the dominant worldview, or “the compilation of all actual statements (spoken or written) in their historical dispersion and in their specific momentary value” (Foucault, quoted in Andersen, 2003, p. 13). The fundamental question behind discourse analysis as expressed by Foucault is “Why did this and no other statement happen here?” (quoted in Andersen, 2003, p. 14). The combination of discourse analysis, semiotic analysis and grounded theory has given structure and boundaries to the archive in this project.

#### 2.2 Theoretical Background

##### 2.2.1 The Concept of “Landscape” in Cultural Studies and New Cultural Geography

The concept of “landscape”, derived from the German *Landschaft*, a term that originally “denoted an identifiable tract of land, an area of known dimensions like the fields and woods of

a manor or parish" (Cosgrove, 1998), is central to geography, and appears even in the postmodern and poststructural work of the last three decades. The concept has developed significantly from the environmental determinist origins of its usage in the Berkeley School (Cosgrove & Jackson, 1987; Cosgrove, 1985; Winchester, Kong, & Dunn, 2003).

David Cosgrove, arguably the strongest proponent of the term in the field of new cultural geography, pushed "landscape" as a new flagship term of spatial collectivity:

"[the] unifying principle derives from the active engagement of a human subject with the material object. In other words landscape denotes the external world mediated through subjective human experience in a way that neither *region* nor *area* immediately suggest. Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world" (Cosgrove, 1998).

However, while Cosgrove maintains a primarily artistic and natural focus in his earlier work about landscape (i.e. "...landscape is a social product, the consequence of a collective human transformation of nature" (Cosgrove, 1998)), showing a clear connection to the work of Carl Sauer and the Berkeley School, his 1987 break with 'old' cultural geography reflects itself in his later work. It is in fact in the seminal text from Cosgrove & Jackson "New Directions in Cultural Geography" (1987), hailed by many as the establishment of the field of new cultural geography, that the symbolic aspects of the landscape concept were first brought to the forefront;

"...the landscape concept is itself a sophisticated cultural construction: a particular way of composing, structuring and giving meaning to an external world whose history has to be understood in relation to the material appropriation of land. Thus the *symbolic qualities* of landscape, those which produce and sustain social meaning, have become a focus of research" (Cosgrove & Jackson, 1987, p. 96, italics in original).

Later studies about the term and its role in geographical research take a decidedly constructivist stance; "landscapes [are] expressions of culture ... and ... representations which construct and reinforce identities" (Winchester et al., 2003, p. 35). Winchester et al argue that landscapes, in particular symbolic landscapes, play a key role in the normalization of dominant value systems; "the hegemonic role of landscapes, by way of contrast, relies on their naturalization of ideological systems, made possible because of their dominance in everyday lives and their very tangible and visible materiality, making that which is socially constructed appear to be the natural order of things" (Winchester et al., 2003, p. 66). Therefore, in the words of Cosgrove, "landscape acts to 'naturalize' what is deeply cultural" (Cosgrove, 2004).

Cultural landscapes, collections of culturally, socially and politically significant symbols, are continuously produced and reproduced. The power over landscape is therefore also the power over the means of cultural and social production, and the ability to constrain and guide the symbolic narrative of a space by limiting certain groups' access to space (De Soto, 1996; Rose-Redwood, Alderman, & Azaryahu, 2010). Again, in the words of Winchester et al,

"in both urban and rural landscapes, the powerful social groups will seek to impose their own versions of reality and practice, effecting their ideologies in the production and use of landscapes, as well as dominant definitions of their

meanings. What they produce are therefore *landscapes of power*, that is, landscapes that reflect and reveal the power of those who construct, define, and maintain them ...Once constructed, these landscapes have the capacity to legitimize the powerful, by affirming the ideologies that created them in the first place” (Winchester et al., 2003, p. 67, my emphasis).

These symbols can be used for political and economic gain, to express belonging, to rebel against dominant worldviews, or simply to express presence. The concept of “landscape” has been used to talk about nationalism (Anderson, 2006; Sörlin, 1999), belonging and identity (Winchester et al., 2003), and power constructs (Cosgrove, 1998), as well as cultural and semiotic spaces (Czepczyński, 2008), and will form the main terminology of spatial collectivity in this project.

To summarize, the term “landscape” in new cultural geography moves away from the idea of landscape as a container, a set and stable expanse of space, or a natural environment impacted in a specific way by a human group, moving to incorporate sociological constructions of (relative) space (i.e. Lefebvre, 1974; Löw, 2001), as discussed in the following section.

### **2.2.2 Absolute Space vs. Relative Space**

These concepts necessarily play on a *relative* conception of space, a concept common in current sociological, cultural and human geographical research. David Cosgrove links this conceptual change to the shift from modernity to postmodernity; “both in theory and practice, space in modernity remained Cartesian and absolute” (Cosgrove, 2004). Absolute conceptions of space, he argues, were inherently linked to the “territorial imperatives of the nation-state” (Cosgrove, 2004), as Cartesian “containers”, bounded spaces containing physical resources and controllable through military force, coincided well with the struggles of nationalism leading up to and including the Second World War.

The shift in value systems from modernism to postmodernism, from hard to soft qualities, from finite and material to changeable and symbolic, from metanarratives to plurality formed the necessary foundation for the shift from absolute to relative conceptions of space. This shift also coincided with new conceptions of social and cultural production, which, above all through the shift from metanarratives to plurality, changed the focus of cultural production from a top-down process to a broader base involving multiple groups with varying resources, agendas, and means (de Certeau, 1984). Therefore, the shift from absolute to relative spatial conceptions can be framed not only in the context of the changing valuations of physical and symbolic goods for local, regional and national economies, as well as the defense and acquisition of resources, but also concurrently in the changing abilities of various actors to change, adapt, co-opt and subvert this emergent symbolic capital. This change plays a significant role in both the construction of national identity and the economic struggles within and between (physical) spaces.

### **2.2.3 Space as a Political Good – National Spaces, National Narratives**

Benedict Anderson, in his groundbreaking exegesis on nationalism, describes nations as “imagined political communit[ies]” (Anderson, 2006). The concept of a nation, he argues, exists in contraposition to imperialist Cartesian notions of sovereignty backed by military power and



empires based on the disposal over land, capital and labor (Anderson, 2006; Cosgrove, 1998); these theories dovetail well with those of relative space and postmodernism.

Ernest Gellner, in his earlier work on the subject, argues that “nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist” (Gellner, 1965, p. 168); such constructs require symbolic and narrative vehicles for the creation and maintenance of hegemonic power, and the “deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson, 2006) between their citizens. Symbolic spaces play a significant role in these struggles.

Symbolic spaces can possess a range of meanings and values as wide as that of the culture in which they are contextually embedded (Altrock, Huning, Kuder, Nuissl, & Peters, 2010). Indeed, this is the very aspect of symbolic spaces that makes them so fascinating; their reflection of the values of society, officially condoned, egregiously ignored, and/or surreptitiously pursued. The majority of symbolic spaces are developed and instrumented by urban planners with the help of architects and artists (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 38). Therefore the creation of symbolic space represents a highly politicized process led by a small group of powerful actors. In the words of Foucault, “both architectural and urban planning, both designs and ordinary buildings, offer privileged instances for understanding how power operates” (cited in Guy, 2004, p. 77).

Intentionally planned symbolic spaces often serve to mass-produce traditions by legitimizing the worldview of the administration responsible for planning (Azaryahu, 1997; Hobsbawm, 1992); “from this perspective urban identity becomes a product of deliberate selection processes by urban elites and governments in order to create the intended narrative or story” (Tölle, 2010, p. 349). The commemoration of space through the naming of places and consecration of memorials, as well as the de-commemoration of space through the replacement of existing names and the removal of monuments, represents therefore an ideological domination through spatial domination (Azaryahu, 1997; De Soto, 1996; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010).

In this way, planning, architecture, and urban development become inherently political acts, imbuing the landscape with political and symbolic meaning. These acts select an appropriate version of historical events to portray as “the” past by selecting from among the many possible historical discourses (Wodak, 1994). In this respect, “the” past is a subjective selection, a politicized ideology, and a discursive process. The introduction of these ideologies into the landscape normalizes them and allows the politically-selected historical narrative to become part of the ‘natural order’ through “a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 4). In this way, official symbolic spaces say just as much about what should be remembered as what should be ignored (Altrock et al., 2010).

Naming and describing, in the formal sense, therefore define the structure that the social world (may) have (Bourdieu, 1992). Consequently, officially implemented symbolic spaces serve in the construction of social reality through their dispersal of a selected historiography (Altrock et al., 2010; Bourdieu, 1992); “...the past serves and legitimizes open political goals, or supports a specific genealogical or teleological representation of history or simply reinforces the dominant political culture” (De Soto, 1996, p. 45). Indeed, the selection of one historiography at the expense of all others emphasizes the legitimacy of the dominant cultural group and simultaneously the illegitimacy of all other groups and viewpoints; “The results of these ...

struggles have a direct bearing on whose vision of 'reality' will appear to matter socially, since landscapes are not just the products of social power but also tools or resources for achieving it" (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010, p. 462, 463).

The topographic ascription of symbolic capital is therefore an act of power and cultural control through which some groups and individuals have the authority to name while others do not (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). In this respect, place-making can be seen as an act of cultural dominance (Bourdieu, 1992) through the topographical inscription of a selected past, and the resulting canonization and normalization of the hegemonic political power (Azaryahu, 1997, 2011). This power is exerted by the dominant cultural group; "dominant class fractions, whose power rests on economic capital, aim to impose the legitimacy of their domination ... through their own symbolic production" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 168). This is of particular importance in the contexts of colonialism and post-colonialism (Glasco, 2010; Horanr, 2002; McBride, 1999; Saldanha & Keynes, 2002; R. Weber, Kreisel, & Faust, 2003; Whelan, 2002; Yeoh, 1992, 1996), but also belonging (Århem, 1998), norming and control (Berg & Kearns, 1996), and the conceptualization and presentation of history (Alderman, 2003; Azaryahu & Kellerman, 1999; Georgiou, 2010; Swart, 2008). The selection, representation and canonization of a selective historical narrative form a discursive practice set in motion by one or more powerful actors and carried on by other lesser distributors (for example, mass media, professionals & academics) (Altrock et al., 2010). These powerful actors are legitimate representatives of the dominant power, and, following Bourdieu's division of specialized labor, are vested with a power to signify symbolic power and capital (Bourdieu, 1992); they are "legitimate speaker(s), authorized to speak and to speak with authority" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 41). The distinction of one or more legitimate speakers excludes the legitimacy of all other speakers in a self-reinforcing cycle: the legitimate speakers support the dominance of the dominant group, and the dominant group supports the legitimate speakers' claims to legitimacy. The theories presented here represent the main theoretical background to critical political geography, especially with respect to places where the officially-condoned historiography is not uniformly accepted (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998; Aunesluoma & Kettunen, 2008; Campbell, 2000; Hall, 2006; Huyssen, 2003; Legg, 2007; Sassen, 2001).

The intangible, political, and symbolic aspects of the landscape are not only used for political ends, but also for economic ones, as described in the section below.

#### **2.2.4 Space as an Economic Good – Branding, Marketing & Tourism**

The rise of neoliberal politics in the 1980s brought with it the incorporation of business tactics into urban administration and other realms where they had not yet been used. Urban marketing and urban branding efforts are the result of the combination of business-derived strategies and the decline of importance of physical characteristics in the valuation of space. The role of soft qualities as decisive in urban marketing initiatives has also meant an increase in the role of symbolism, symbolic capital, historiography, and representation in urban space. Debates of expression of historical narratives have therefore become a point of contest in economic debates as well.

The socioeconomic change from fordism and industrialism to postfordism and postindustrialism took place during the 1970s in the industrialized Western world (Hain, 1997).

This change marked a movement away from tangible, “hard” characteristics in favor of “soft” characteristics, such as image and brand, as key aspects of a good (Altrock et al., 2010; Helbrecht, 2005; Klein, 2005), as described in the section above. In an urban context, as industry’s importance and centrality as the defining characteristic of space began to decline, “soft” characteristics emerged as the most important qualities in the inter-city competition for resources (Hain, 1997). These processes lean heavily on the use of symbolic capital and cultural valuation.

Within this context, spatial image has become an important research topic in the last 10 to 15 years (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). Indeed, the development of offshoot topics such as urban marketing, “branding”, neighborhood and city ranking, and “image management” shows the importance of image both as a transmitter of worth and as an urban planning tool.

Recent movements have tried to harness the power of “soft” qualities, symbolism, and image in urban branding and marketing efforts. Place branding and marketing are a direct response to the nationalization & globalization of markets (Cresswell, 2004; Helbrecht, 2005; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005); places must be able to distinguish themselves in order to compete for scarce resources in a globalizing world. Branding is a good approach to achieve these ends because “all branding tries to endow a product with a specific and more distinctive identity” (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005, p. 510). Ilse Helbrecht characterizes this change well:

“While earlier above all the utility value (practicability: how practical is this apartment?) and the trade value (price: how much does this apartment cost?) were the most important characteristics of consumer goods, since the 1980s a third criterion in the assessment of the quality of a consumer good has emerged: the symbolic value. The symbolic value contains the meanings that one communicates through the use and possession of certain consumer goods” (Helbrecht, 2005, p. 192).

Branding and marketing, while interlinked, are different phenomena. Marketing is defined here as “the conscious and planned practice of signification and representation” (Firat & Venkatesh, 1993, p. 246), while branding is defined as the “deliberate process of selecting and associating [a unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values] because they are assumed to add value to the basic product or service” (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005, p. 508); branding is therefore the selection of attributes to highlight in order to add value, while marketing is the positioning of the brand in the marketplace through representation.

Why are place branding and place marketing important? As already touched upon, increasing globalization and mobility mean that areas currently compete that were historically not involved in competition; “A place needs to be differentiated through unique brand identity if it wants to be first, recognized as existing, second perceived in the minds of place customers as possessing qualities superior to those of competitors, and third, consumed in a manner commensurate with the objectives of the place” (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005, p. 510). Attracting attention is described as “brand awareness” and the association between the place and positive qualities that will benefit the user “brand utility” (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005, p. 513). Marketing such as logos and slogans attempt to concretize specific aspects of the place in order to appeal to and attract the attention of potential users such as residents, businesses, and investors. These efforts are particularly linked with third-sector work, which has become

pivotal in postindustrial urban areas (D. Bell, 1973); of particular importance are the so-called “creative industries”.

Indeed, the work one of the foremost researchers in this field, Richard Florida, builds directly on the theories of Bell. Florida argues that, as opposed to looking at the locations of businesses as an indicator of economic activity and health, that instead the number of creative workers is an indicator thereof; he has proven a strong positive correlation between his various indexes (e.g. bohemian index, bohemian-gay index) and economic activity in several different spatial contexts (Florida, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2006). This approach has been criticized in recent years as generalizing, homogenizing, and discriminatory (Brabazon, 2011).

The rise in the significance of the creative class as an economic driver has led to the marketing of cities both as incredibly creative and as attractive for creative industries. The identification of the creative class as a main driver of economic activity, above all in postindustrial cities, makes the competition for these scarce resources a main focus for many planning and marketing initiatives (Florida, 2003, 2007).

## **2.3. Historical Background**

### **2.3.1 Germany's Development and Narrative during Division and Reunification**

In Germany, the tensions of the Cold War took on their most intensive form, physically, politically & ideologically. Urban planning proved to be one of the most important ways that both sides postured for dominance, above all in divided Berlin (Ladd, 1997; Strom, 2001), but also in other urban contexts. This created serious tensions after reunification, as “the political postures of the Communist regime, even those carved in stone, had no place in the unified German democracy” (Ladd, 1997, p. 193).

The Cold War had necessitated an intensification of the differences between East and West. Culturally, West Germany developed “a thoroughly Western, that is, American, life-style including valorizing consumer goods, economic growth and increasing affluence, political freedom in a multiparty democratic system, a free press, social mobility, and economic opportunity for its citizens” (Becker-Cantarino, 1996, p. 12).

The construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 eased the immediate tensions by explicitly establishing the division between East and West and the political legitimacy of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) (Ladd, 1997). It also represented a worldwide hardening of the front lines in the Cold War, and reinforced the fundamental ideological division between the West (embodied by the US and capitalism), and the East (embodied by Russia and communism); the Wall became “a metaphor for the bipolar world system – the geographical dichotomy of freedom/repression – [which] turned the concrete wall into an existential symbol transcending immediate political significance” (Loshitzky, 1997).

In Germany, the Wall also provided a singular opportunity for coping with the cultural heritage of the Second World War; “The East-West division provided by the Wall permitted Germany themselves to project “otherness” onto their fellows. ... Germans could interpret official propaganda as implying that the people on the other side of the Wall monopolized the prejudiced, predatory, or authoritarian traits of the bad old days” (Ladd, 1997, p. 31). Thus, the

Wall allowed the ideological divide, particularly in reference to Germany's Nazi heritage, to widen, with both sides "grant(ing) the other the honor of being the Third Reich's true successor" (Ladd, 1997, p. 180). The Wall was instrumentalized as a "rhetorical resource for the articulation of competing ideological/political systems" (Loshitzky, 1997), a situation that deeply complicated cultural and ideological reconciliation after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The intensity of the ideological rift became particularly apparent in the 1980s with the so-called "historians' debate", in which several well-known west German academics attempted to equate the communist and NS regimes (Jarausch, 2010; Ladd, 1997; Spittler & Knischewski, 1995). Descriptions of the GDR as "totalitarian" and "the second German dictatorship" (Saarinen, 2008) implied a "fundamental similarity between Nazism and Communism" (Ladd, 1997, p. 23). In this way, "the Cold War (was) a continuation of the West's struggle in World War II and, in the German context, East German Communist leader Walter Ulbricht as Hitler's successor" (Ladd, 1997, p. 23), a perspective that had drastic consequences after Germany's reunification.

The monumental building style in the GDR and in particular in East Berlin was in part the result of a very different historical understanding of the end of World War II as that which was accepted in West Berlin and West Germany (De Soto, 1996, p. 30). The GDR portrayed themselves in party propaganda as victorious antifascists whose efforts during the war unequivocally led to the triumph over the Nazis and fascism in Germany (Ladd, 1997). The core of the SED (Socialist Unity Party) party line was therefore the memorialization of Communist martyrs of the Nazi era, antifascists, and famous communist & socialist philosophers and activists. In this way, the East positioned themselves as victors and heroes, a stance embodied in the building style of that era (Ladd, 1997), and representationally positioned in central places, above all in the capital city Berlin. This was in direct contrast to the understanding of World War II in West Germany, where discussions of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, coming to grips with or coping with the past (Wodak, 1994), dominated the discourse until the 1980s.

In contrast to other post-socialist contexts, where the socialist period could be integrated into a continuous, linear, and cumulative historical development, the divided condition of the German state and its subsequent reunification complicated the development of a post-1989 national narrative. "Boundaries ... not only create physical space but also organize national and cultural identity" (Loshitzky, 1997); post-reunification narratives grappled therefore not only with the double history of a now-reunified country and city, but also the positioning of Germany in the structural landscape of post-Cold-War Europe.

Reunification narratives vary greatly; "most Western commentators see the toppling of the SED regime as overdue liberation while many disappointed Eastern intellectuals complain about being annexed and subsequently colonized" (Jarausch, 2010, p. 498). The historical framing of German reunification and the semantic creation of the "Berliner republic" (Jarausch, 2010, p. 504) and the "second German democracy" (Ladd, 1997, p. 210) seek to establish a "normalizing" narrative and position Germany's reunification as "the delayed achievement of Western normality, finally ending the 'special path' (*Sonderweg*)" (Jarausch, 2010, p. 500). The relative positioning and discursive and semantic construction of Germany's post-reunification national narrative has

“provided a convenient end-point to a national narrative of imperial hubris, Weimar failure, Third Reich transgression, GDR false start and eventual FRG redemption. From this perspective, the development of the Federal Republic has been a success story: starting from the nadir of inhuman crimes and shattering defeat, gradually it recovered dignity through political Westernization and democratization and was eventually rewarded for its ‘recivilization’ by the overthrow of Communism and reunification with the Eastern states” (Jarausch, 2010, p. 508).

The construction of German national identity in terms of democracy and Westernizing forces necessitated distancing from the East German socialist past; “A concomitant of such Western self-congratulation was the systematic delegitimization of the GDR by exposing its many shortcomings after the fact” (Jarausch, 2010, p. 508). It allowed the reframing of German national identity beyond post-war *Vergangeheitsbewältigung*, adding “a new narrative teleology beyond 1933 (‘why did Hitler come to power?’) or 1941 (‘how could Germans commit such crimes?’), pointing to a joyous moment of democratic awakening that engulfed all of Eastern Europe” (Jarausch, 2010, p. 512). This will be discussed in detail as examined through landscape changes in the once and future capital, Berlin.

### 2.3.2 The Politicization of Berlin’s Urban Landscape

As already touched upon, Berlin’s urban landscape was an important tool for the expression of cultural dominance both during and after the Cold War. Every aspect of socialist urban planning from housing to government buildings was intended to differentiate the socialist from the capitalist city, and highlight the superiority of the former (Häußermann & Kapphann, 2002; Häußermann & Strom, 1994, p. 339). “Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic” held a special role in the GDR both as the most visible showcase of socialist power and as the capital city. For 40 years, every built space change in Berlin, from the controversial removal of the war-damaged Hohenzollern city palace (*Stadtschloss*) to the erection of the TV tower, was a calculated expression of symbolic capital (Jarausch, 2010).

In the void left after the abolition of 40 years of ideological, spatial and political division, questions about “new German identity” abounded. Compounding the effects of the post-reunification identity search, in 1991 the German Bundestag declared that the German seat of government would move back to Berlin after 40 years in its provisional seat in Bonn. As the new seat of German government, Berlin took on further significance as a beacon of “new German identity” (Strom, 2001), above and beyond its role as the capital city.

The creation of a new spatial hegemony meant expressing the new dominant worldview in the urban landscape, in essence, embracing or rejecting existing political aspects of the landscape, specifically commemorations, and imbuing the urban landscape with a new “appropriate” symbolic capital consistent with the “West German historical myth” (Azaryahu, 1997, p. 484). Physical reminders of the socialist past, including monuments and memorials, but also built form types, underwent significant changes, both real and image-related, as the new western cultural hegemony accommodated the landscape to fit their ideology.

This process in Berlin was similar to de-communism efforts in eastern Europe, where “the main strategy to be observed since the 1990s was undoubtedly the creation of a “European” identity, aiming at shaping modern, international and capitalist place identities, which meant in

consequence the complete rejection of the socialist past" (Tölle, 2010, p. 349). Similarly, the new spatial hegemony in post-reunification Berlin championed the western ideals of capitalism, democracy, market forces, consumerism, and postmodernism. The physical legacy of the socialist era was thusly damned in two regards: as the ideological tools of a fallen political regime, and as modernist and fordist architecture and urban design. In the eyes of the West German elites in charge of planning, the socialist urban landscape was "non-representative for the new Germany" (De Soto, 1996, p. 37) and the modernist urban landscape "unattractive and inefficient" (Strom, 2001, p. 2). Berlin's re-assimilation into the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) meant the recalibrating of this spatially-anchored heritage.

Following the pattern seen throughout Eastern Europe at the time, the symbolic capital of the post-socialist half of Berlin was removed, reframed, or replaced; above and beyond the changes seen in many other post-socialist contexts, parallel to the removal of significant socialist monuments such as the Lenin statue, new plans for the inner city were forged that stood in direct opposition to the planning measures of the previous 40 years.

The removal and discrediting of the architectural representation of "unwanted" histories signifies a restriction in symbolic representation of these eras; "the redevelopment of Berlin has been characterized by a form of collective, even purposeful amnesia in which the physical erasure of the city has encourages a wider forgetting" (Guy, 2004, p. 79). However, the spatial and aesthetic delegitimization of 80 years of history (i.e., the NS and GDR regimes) amounts in the eyes of critical reconstructions' critics to the delegitimization of these regimes and their heirs, a particularly thorny issue in regard to the built legacy of the GDR. In post-reunification Berlin, the concept of architecture and urban planning as expressions of national and civic identity became a flashpoint of political, aesthetic and symbolic debates. In the words of Brian Ladd, "here the crisis of modern architecture and urban planning coincides with the crisis of national identity" (Ladd, 1997, p. 230).

Critical reconstruction and the tenets that it sets out went well beyond a few overview plans. Indeed, through the aesthetic dominance of the legitimate speakers, the new ideal created an invisible guideline by which all other built form was measured. The changes were pervasive, sudden and irreversible. Why is this significant? Hobsbawm argues that the invention of tradition is evidence of discontinuities in the historical order; "they are important symptoms and therefore indicators of problems which might not otherwise be recognized" (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 12). Therefore, where debates of the "correctness" of representation occur and the invention of tradition results, whether in architecture, planning, or history books, it is an indicator of a rift, a break, a discontinuity.

In this light, it is pertinent to note that the most telling aspect of nearly all of the phenomena listed above, from street renaming to the debate surrounding the *Palast der Republik* and the *Stadtschloss* (Hohenzollern City Palace), is that the changes discussed represent not the creation of a new common Germany from two concurrent histories, but the reversal of changes performed during the socialist era; Clara Zetkin Straße was reverted to Dorotheenstraße, Klement-Gottwald-Straße to Berliner Allee, the *Palast der Republik* is currently being replaced by a reconstruction of the *Stadtschloss*, and the city structure will, through critical reconstruction, be reverted to an ideal of what might have been before the Second World War. Seen in the context of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (to repeat the definition, coping with the past, a term often used to refer to the process of coping with the legacy of the National Socialists), the

motivations behind the need for cultural dominance become clearer; “Nostalgia, according to this thinking, implies a denial of inconvenient facts, in particular, an exclusion from German history of the Third Reich and the GDR” (Ladd, 1997, p. 66). Given Berlin’s turbulent history, particularly as the capital of three failed regimes, it seems like a logical step to reach back to the time of the monarchy; “For all the turbulence of Berlin’s history under the Hohenzollerns, they arguably presided over a degree of stability that has not been approached in the rest of the twentieth century. Many Berliners are understandably reluctant to frame their identity in terms of the troubled eras that followed: the weak Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the divided city. Hence the wish to reach back to the relatively placid era of the monarchs” (Ladd, 1997, p. 81). The creation of and desire to connect with the tradition of pre-WWII Berlin reflects a lasting conflict with the history of the War and what followed it. Thus, the words of Brian Ladd remain true: “Half a century after its end, and years after the division it spawned has been overcome, Hitler’s war remains the event that ... define[s] and shape[s] Berlin” (Ladd, 1997, p. 175).

The crafting of Berlin, from urban structure to urban image, has been a vitally important task, imbued not only with the responsibility for the image of a nation, but also with the economic survival of its capital, as Berlin lost its role as a center of primary productive activity in Germany’s economic and industrial landscape during its division (Colomb, 2012). Marketing efforts in Berlin have been understandably more intense than in the cities in the surrounding countryside, above all because of its position as the capital.

The changes to Berlin’s cultural landscape were not only linked to actual active and physical changes, but also to a reframing of existing structures and symbols in the new discourse.

Similar to in other post-socialist countries, symbolic restructuring began almost immediately following the political restructuring of 1989/1990. In Berlin, this amounted to the removal of monuments (in particular the Lenin monument in Lenin Square), extensive street renaming, and the closing of the *Palast der Republik*. The removal of monuments and the closing of the *Palast der Republik* represented both physical and symbolic changes to the landscape, as they were changes involving physical spaces of imbued political and national narrative.

Critical reconstruction, the new *Leitbild* for planning in the city, began to restructure the city in the early 90s, guiding the architectural form of new construction. Critical reconstruction and *Planwerk Innenstadt*, the new urban planning framework, also had a symbolic component, as the conservative postmodern stance of its proponents eschewed the built space forms of the modernist era. Therefore, the physical and symbolic construction of a new inner city was simultaneously the devaluation of the former inner-city. The postmodern cultural orientation of the West German elites in charge of planning after reunification also resulted in a near-immediate stigmatization of the up-to-that-point well-regarded large scale housing estates, a topic that will be discussed in detail below.

Critical reconstruction and *Planwerk Innenstadt* have continued to affect the built form of the inner-city, physically as well as, to a lesser extent, symbolically. The 2001 Berlin bank scandal and the 2008 global economic crisis have both slowed the dynamic rate of development. The pivotal symbolic and image-related development in recent years is the 2006/2007 demolition of the *Palast der Republik* and the construction of a replica of the *Stadtschloss* in its place which began in summer 2013.



## 2.4 Semiotics as an Empirical Entry Point

Cultural researchers have long sought theoretical frameworks appropriate for the analysis of just such phenomena; one such framework is semiotic analysis (i.e. Chandler, 2007; Gottdiener, 1985; Torop, 1999). Semiotic analysis of cultural symbols in the urban landscape and representations hereof are concerned with just such questions, i.e. how are symbols used to convey meaning in the urban environment, and are linked to the phenomenon widely known as the “linguistic turn”, in which structural linguistic analyses such as semiotics are used to decipher non-linguistic cultural structures. The link to cultural landscapes is tangible. Indeed, Meinig argued in 1979 that “every landscape is a code, and its study may be undertaken as a deciphering of meaning, of the cultural and social significance of ordinary but diagnostic features” (Winchester et al., 2003, p. 24). Cosgrove and Jackson touch on this vein further in their essay:

“Conceptualizing landscapes as configurations of symbols and signs leads inevitably towards methodologies which are more interpretive than strictly morphological. Among the most commonly favoured are those associated with post-war developments in linguistics and semiotics. This interpretive strand in recent cultural geography develops the metaphor of landscape as a ‘text’ to be read or interpreted as a social document...” (Cosgrove & Jackson, 1987, p. 96)

The semiotic analysis of the urban landscape involves the identification of symbols and the identification of their constituent parts. Prior to operationalizing this technique for empirical work with cultural landscapes, it is first important to go into the development of the field from its origins at the beginning of last century.

### 2.4.1 Peirce, Saussure, and the Sign

The field of semiotics was developed concurrently in Europe and the US, unbeknownst to the two researchers involved: Ferdinand Saussure & Charles Sanders Peirce. A short sketch of the main similarities and differences is important for the following methodological concerns<sup>2</sup>.

The main difference between the approaches of Saussure and Peirce is the division of the sign into two or three constituent parts. Whereas Saussure divided the sign into *signifier* (the form the sign takes) and *signified* (the concept to which it refers) (Chandler, 2007, p. 14), Peirce divided the sign into three parts: the *representamen* (the form that the sign takes), the *interpretant* (the sense made of the sign), and the *referent* (the object or concept referred to) (Chandler, 2007, p. 29). Thus, “the Peircean model explicitly allocates a place for materiality and for reality outside the sign system which Saussure’s model did not directly feature...” (Chandler, 2007, p. 33). For the purpose of clarity, the Saussurean terminology will be used throughout this document.

Both Peirce and Saussure agree that signifiers are arbitrary, the important aspect of them is that they are socially agreed upon, i.e. English speakers all agree more or less on what a tree is, however arbitrary the combination of letters (written signifier) or syllables (aural signifier) are. In the words of William Shakespeare, “that which we call a rose, by any other name would smell

---

<sup>2</sup> For an in-depth description, please see (Chandler, 2007).

as sweet” (Romeo & Juliet, Act II, Scene II). However, Lévi-Strauss rightly notes that “the sign is arbitrary *a priori* but ceases to be arbitrary *a posteriori* – after the sign has come into historical existence it cannot be arbitrarily changed. As part of its social use within a sign-system, every sign acquires a history and connotations of its own which are familiar to members of the sign-users’ culture” (Chandler, 2007, p. 27).

From a constructivist point of view, language and signs contribute to the construction of reality; indeed, the “postmodernist stance [is] that there is no external reality beyond sign-systems” (Chandler, 2007, p. 10). Baudrillard takes this concept to the penultimate in his assertion that the postmodern world is *hyperreal*, i.e. that reality consists purely of symbols and images (Firat & Venkatesh, 1993; Gottdiener, 1995). Control over the construction of signs and the signification of signifieds is clearly of utmost importance in the control and framing of discourses.

#### 2.4.2 Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Axes

Meaning is generated in semiotics through the positioning of signifiers along two axes, the *syntagmatic* and *paradigmatic* axes. Saussure asserted that signs are only ever defined negatively, i.e. by that which they exclude. In analyzing a *syntagm*, defined as “an orderly combination of interacting signifiers which forms a meaningful whole within a text” (Chandler, 2007, p. 85), Saussure analyzed not only the position of the words relative to each other (syntagmatic axis), but also the range of possible substitutions for the individual words (paradigmatic axis) (figure 1).

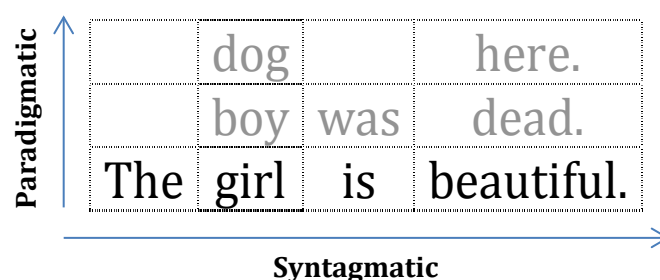


Figure 1. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 84).

Syntagms exist over several scales; “in language, a sentence, for instance, is a syntagm of words; so too are paragraph and chapters. ... A printed advertisement is a syntagm of visual signifiers” (Chandler, 2007, p. 85). Roland Barthes operationalized these axes for example for the ‘garment system’ in the following way: “The paradigmatic elements are the items which cannot be worn at the same time on the same part of the body (such as hats, trousers, shoes). The syntagmatic dimension is the juxtaposition of different elements at the same time in a complete ensemble from hat to shoes” (Chandler, 2007, p. 86). Thus, the options on the paradigmatic axis can be understood as mutually-exclusive interchangeable options whose composition together in the syntagmatic axis (following the given rules of the system, i.e. one does not wear a hat on one’s hand) creates a comprehensible whole, the syntagm. This dissertation will examine the cultural landscape as a whole, as well as the nested systems within it (architectural style, street names, monuments) as syntagms, analyzing both their position in relation to one another, and the question of choice, substitution, and alternate possibilities.

### 2.4.3 Greimas' Semiotic Square

A second source of structural analysis stems from the work of Algirdas Greimas, who developed the semiotic square for the analysis of meaning (Chandler, 2007, p. 107). The concept behind the semiotic square is the analysis of paired contrary signifiers in relation to each other and their contradictories. Thus, if we take the example of red (S1) and green (S2), then the contradictories would be 'not red' (Not S1) and 'not green' (Not S2) (figure 2). Thus, the range of paradigmatic possibilities, including the unvoiced contradictories, can be examined in detail.

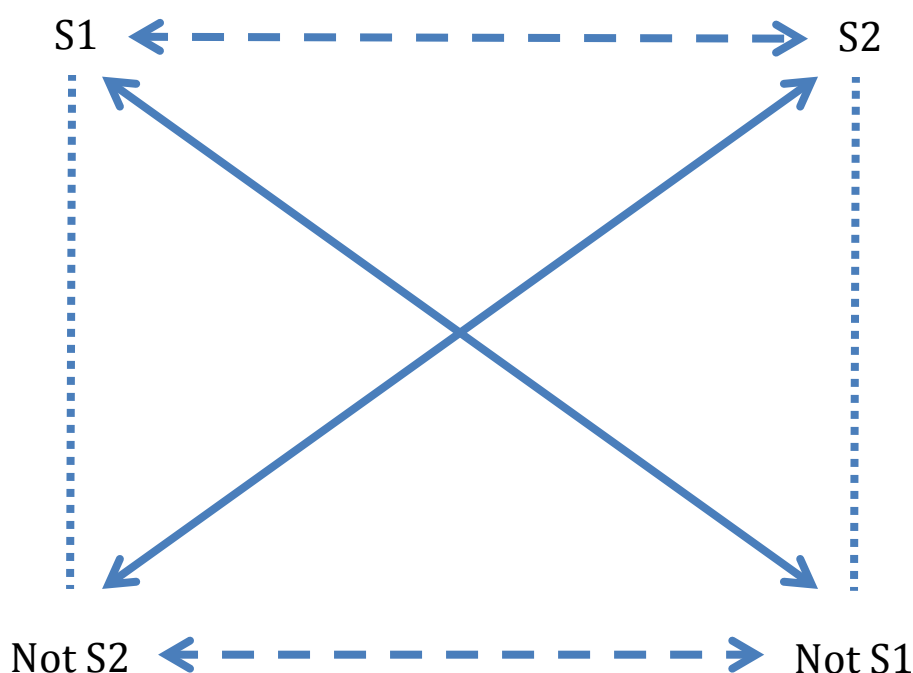


Figure 2. Greimas' semiotic square. Dashed arrows show the relation between contraries, solid lines show the relation between contradictories and dotted lines show the relation of implication. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 107).

### 2.4.4 Denotation, Connotation, & Orders of Signification

A final source of structural analysis proposed in this project is that of *connotation* and *denotation*. Chandler defines the terms as follows: "Denotation' tends to be described as the definitional, literal, obvious or common-sense meaning of the sign. ... [while] 'connotation' is used to refer to the socio-cultural and 'personal' associations (ideological, emotional, etc.)" (Chandler, 2007, pp. 137, 138). Postmodern critique (above all from Barthes) argues that the neutrality posited in the concept of denotation is fiction. Since all meanings are socially agreed upon and produced, the denotation must also be a form of connotation (Chandler, 2007, Chapters 138, 139; Gottdiener, 1995, Chapter 1); "From such a perspective, denotation can be seen as no more of a natural meaning than is connotation but rather a process of *naturalization*. Such a process leads to the powerful illusion that denotation is a purely literal and universal meaning which is not at all ideological, and indeed that those connotations which seem most obvious to individual interpreters are just as natural" (Chandler, 2007, p. 139).

Barthes suggested therefore the division of orders of signification for the analysis of the hidden narratives behind the ostensibly neutral denotation. This is achieved by dividing signification into two steps; "the *first order* of signification is that of denotation: at this level there is a sign consisting of a signifier and a signified. Connotation is a *second order* of signification which uses

the denotative sign (signifier and signified) as its signifier and attaches to it an additional signified” (Chandler, 2007, p. 140). Thus, the analysis of connotation and denotation through the orders of signification looks like this:

2nd Order	Signifier	Signified	
1st Order	Signifier		Signified
	Sign		

Figure 3. Orders of signification. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 140).

Analysis according to the orders of signification allows a deeper, more culturally-contextual study of the cultural landscape by examining the deeper culturally-embedded meaning of denotations. Thus, architectural styles and place names are not just analyzed according to their denotative characteristics, but what these characteristics mean in the specific cultural and historical context.

## 2.5 Summary

To summarize, landscapes represent socially constructed relative spatial collectives, imbued with meaning and symbolic capital by a range of actors; they contribute to the construction of meaning by guiding and limiting actor’s possibilities for social and cultural production. As with any means of cultural production, those in control of the landscape also control the social, cultural and political discourses inherent to it. Semiotics presents itself as a possible empirical entry point to the analysis of cultural landscapes. This will be examined in this dissertation through the example of post-1990 East Berlin.

# 3

## Methods

In this project, I employed the grounded theory method of Glaser & Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Punch, 2005). Grounded theory is based on the simultaneous and continuous collection and analysis of data up to the “point of saturation”, the point at which new information no longer changes the picture. The research begins with a limited literature review so as not to bias impressions, and further case studies, empirical data, or lines of questioning can be added as needed at any time. All methods and tools, both qualitative and quantitative, are open to the researcher. Memoing, or the process of writing down notes, impressions, and connections, is an integral part of the process of theory development that continues parallel to all other steps in the investigation. The grounded theory method is particularly appropriate for the development of new, innovative, and path-breaking theories that challenge the dominant worldview, such as those found in this project.

This project employed a mixed-methods approach over the course of two and a half years that included demographic data analysis, interviews, historical research, and discourse analysis. A meta-analysis of primary and scientific documents and twenty-one 30- to 90-minute interviews with renter advocacy groups, immigration delegates, urban researchers, and urban planning officials form the core of the empirical material. To support these findings, triangulation through alternate data sources was conducted (Merriam, 1995), including legal documents, newspaper articles, and demographic data. The development of the methodological inquiry is pictured in figure 4 below.

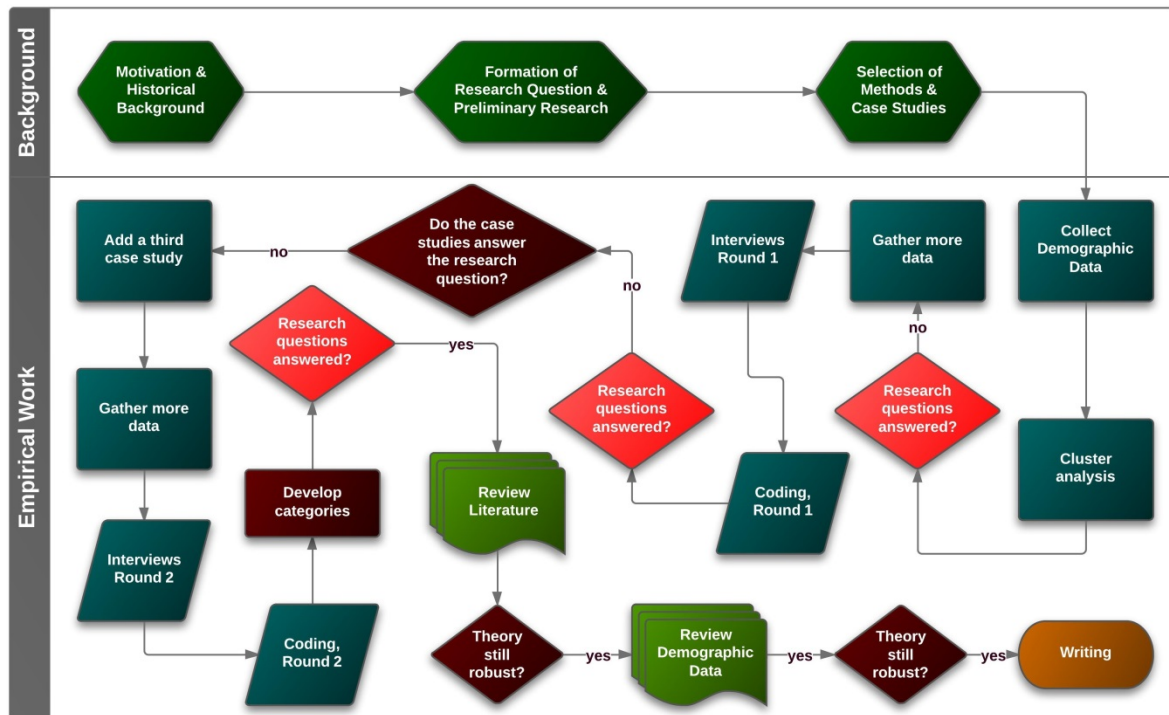
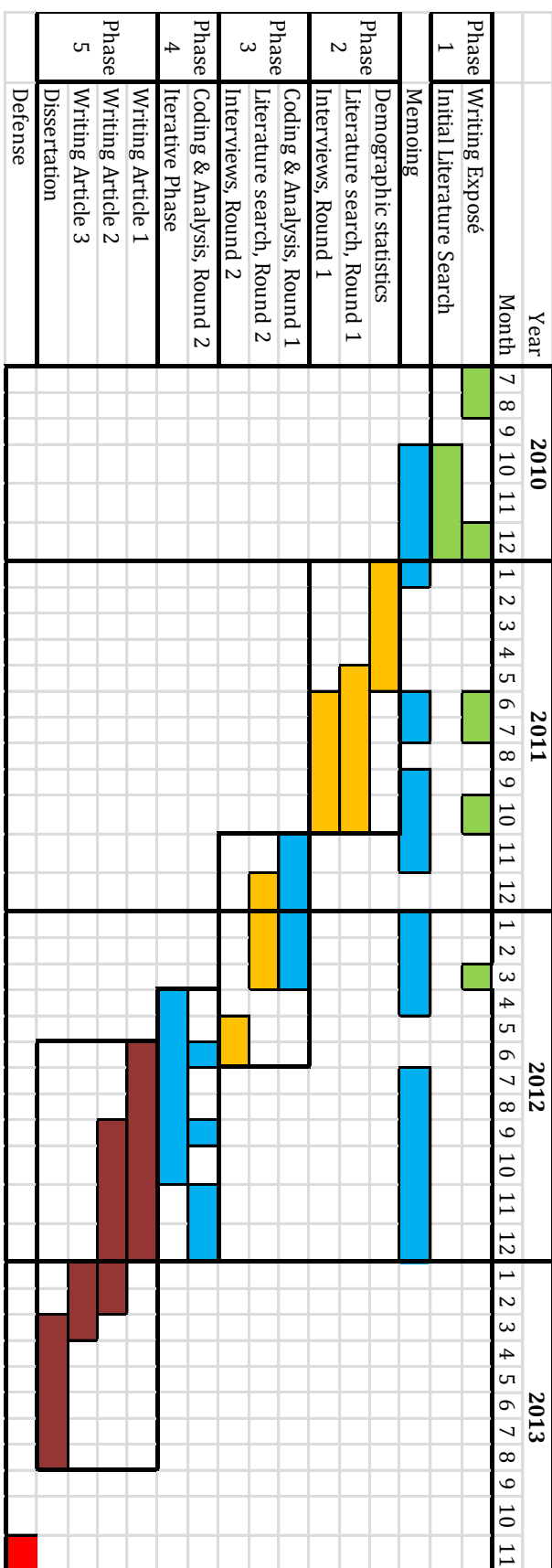


Figure 4. Flowchart of the research process.

### 3.1 Structure and Development of the Project

This project went through several incarnations within the course of two and half years, the description of which will aid in explaining the range and scope of the empirical data, as well as the results. The steps of the project are visualized in the timeline below (table 1):

Table 1. Development of the project, 2010-2013.



The various approaches to the problematic involved several thematic clusters: stigmatization, urban disorder, visual image, discourse, hegemonic power structures, neighborhood development. In total, the conceptual development of this project spanned 5 unique exposés<sup>3</sup>. These steps are explicated here in order to make the conceptual development, as well as the breadth of attempts to approach the topic, transparent.

The initial methodology set out in exposé 1 to answer the questions *why was Marzahn stigmatized after the fall of the Berlin Wall?* was purely quantitative, involving a cluster analysis of demographic data as an attempt to understand the stigmatization of the district. This was a logical step based on the background literature about stigmatization of housing estates, in which the negative image primarily focused on (supposed) characteristics of the residents (i. e. Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings & Dean, 2001, 2003). It quickly became clear however that the question could not be answered by purely quantitative methods, but needed to be addressed at least in part from a qualitative perspective.

The first round of interviews were gathered based on the questions raised in exposé 3, namely that stigma is socially reproduced. For this reason, the first round of interviews were based on questions related to the development of the districts after the fall of the Berlin Wall, demographic characteristics, stigmatization, the public image, positives and negative about the district, etc.<sup>4</sup> Upon review of this material, it became apparent that both the line of questioning and the range of case studies were too narrow. The author sought new ways of approaching the problem, in this case through operationalizing the broken windows theory as explicated by the social disorder theory of Samson & Raudenbush (2004, 2005). This approach was vetoed by the advisorship.

Finally, in March 2012, one month after the submission of article 1, “(Re)Presentation of “the” past in Berlin-Mitte after German reunification, and its implications for cultural production through appropriation of space”, the author wrote the fifth and final exposé, which focused wholly on discourse and qualitative methodology to explain the symbolic and material changes in the city since 1990.

The conceptual development of the topics parallels the author’s conceptual development during the process of the doctoral research. Over the course of three years, it became apparent that the nuanced nature of neighborhood and discourse development cannot be explained from a purely qualitative perspective, particularly not in the case of a case as complex as Berlin.

### 3.2 Case Study Selection

Naturally, a deciding factor for choosing Berlin was its proximity and the author’s familiarity with it, both of which greatly eased the costs and effort associated with fieldwork. But moreover, the likelihood of finding empirical data in the form of media reports about a large city is higher than about a small one, and Berlin based on its division was a unique and fascinating research object.

---

<sup>3</sup> For the full versions of the exposés, please see Appendix 1.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed list of the questions, please see Appendix 2.1.



Originally, I chose three case studies representing a physical continuum from city center to periphery (exposé 1). This changed then to a juxtaposition of an inner-city historical district against a peripheral housing estate (exposés 2, 3 & 4). Finally, I incorporated the central district Mitte after review of the initial empirical data indicated that the district was significant to the research questions.

The three case studies (figure 5) were selected for their built space characteristics, as explicated below.



Figure 5. The three case study areas. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

**Berlin-Mitte** is the central district of the city and the historical seat of government, for the monarchs, the Weimar Republic, the Nazi Regime, and the GDR. Berlin-Mitte is a subdistrict (*Ortsteil*) of the administrative district Mitte and home to the majority of sights and main attractions in the city, including many museums, an opera house, the main historical thoroughfare *Unter den Linden*, the state library, the central train stations, the television tower and historicized reconstructions of pre-industrial parts of the city. The district, the westernmost of East Berlin, protruded into the Western half of the city and provided a very visible stage for the symbolic and material restructuring of the historic city center.

**Berlin-Friedrichshain** is the eastern subdistrict of the administrative district Freidrichshain-Kreuzberg. Friedrichshain lies within the Berlin ring train (*Ringbahn*), the main light rail

running around the central districts of the city, denoting a rough boundary to pre-1920 Berlin (*Alt-Berlin*). Much like other parts of former East Berlin (the best example being Prenzlauer Berg), the historical buildings of this district were neglected during the GDR (1949-1989). Friedrichshain has experienced several waves of industrialization and deindustrialization since the 1920s, culminating in the current repurposing of many former industrial buildings, especially along the Spree River. Since historic times a center of leftist political thought and a haven for students, Friedrichshain's resident demographic has experienced change and resulting social friction as neglected buildings have been renovated and rent prices have begun to rise above levels payable for the formerly predominantly working-class residents. Friedrichshain was the initial focus of urban planning in "Berlin, capital of the GDR", as it was known in East Germany. The "first socialist street", Stalinallee, was built as a tribute to the socialist way of life, and the district was developed during the city's division as an inner-city workers' district.

**Berlin-Marzahn** is a subdistrict of the administrative district Marzahn-Hellersdorf and home to the largest slab-built housing complex in Berlin of the same name (Renner, 2009). Marzahn was incorporated into Berlin in 1920 with the signing of the *Groß-Berlin-Gesetz*. At their 8<sup>th</sup> party congress in 1971, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands – SED*) made the housing shortages in the GDR a main focus of social policy. The social housing complex in the new district of Marzahn was to be a proving ground for these plans. The majority of the prefabricated apartment buildings were erected between 1976 and 1979, and the original town green was restored in 1982. In 1987, in connection with the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Berlin, the Berlin garden show (*Berliner Gartenschau*), now known as the Marzahn recreation park including "Gardens of the World" (*Erholungspark Marzahn, Gärten der Welt*), was constructed. Demographic change since the fall of the Berlin Wall has led to varying vacancy rates in the high rise apartment buildings. Recent renovation, removal, and structural changes to many of the buildings has received attention both in and outside of Berlin (Renner, 2009). As the largest of the socialist housing schemes built in Germany, Marzahn was imbued with a distinct symbolism for the GDR, most importantly as a symbol of the idealized socialist lifestyle and the victory of socialism.

These three case studies were chosen to test the hypotheses for the following reasons:

1. All three districts were the site of significant building and development projects during the 40-year division of the city.
2. The GDR-era building projects in the three districts were intended to be significant examples of the primacy of socialism, and were political instruments to distinguish the East from the West, and "show off".
3. All three districts experienced significant changes to both the built space and the demographic composition, processes which began shortly after the fall of the Wall. In the cases of Friedrichshain & Marzahn, the districts also experienced significant changes to their public image.

These three characteristics allowed (in the final incarnation of this project) the investigation of the instrumentalization of space for political power and establishment of territory both in the socialist and post-socialist context.

### 3.3 Core Questions

Despite the nonlinear development of this project described above, the topical concentration remained the same, and followed the four core questions listed below:

1. Why are districts valued, characterized or perceived the way they are?
2. Do these discursive descriptions always correspond to an “objective reality” (if such thing exists), or are they based on some other cultural structure or characteristic?
3. How might one empirically test these questions?
4. And lastly, are discourse and development linearly coupled, independent, or some mix of the two?

These questions were explored through discourse and content analysis based on the interviews conducted, as well as primary planning literature and newspaper analysis (detailed in the sections below). I attempted to approach them through several different thematic entry points, from Goffman’s stigma theory (Goffman, 1963) to urban disorder (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004, 2005), as well as various discourse theories (Andersen, 2003; Glasze & Mattissek, 2009a, 2009b; Glasze, 2008), and theories about social space (Lefebvre, 1974; Löw, 2001).

The following section details the specifics of the empirical data collection and the content analysis performed.

### 3.4 Data Collection

The data trail follows the development of the project listed above. Based on the meta-analytical approach used in this project, each piece of data listed below was seen as a “piece of evidence” (Alasuutari, 1995) contributing to the development of the argumentation. Due to the shift from quantitative to qualitative analysis in year 2 of the project, the demographic data gathered in the first steps of the data collection shifted from primary to the completion of the project to supporting data for the qualitative work. The empirical material gathered in this project is detailed in table 2 below.

Table 2. Summary of empirical material used in the research.

<b><u>Type of Material</u></b>	<b><u>Collection Date</u></b>	<b><u>Volume</u></b>	<b><u>Brief Description</u></b>
<b>Peer-reviewed scientific articles</b>	December 2010 onwards	~650 articles	Scientific and theoretical background material
<b>Books</b>	December 2010 onwards	~70 in private library	Scientific and theoretical background material
<b>Newspaper articles</b>	December 2010 onwards	~100 articles	Newspaper articles related to the case study areas from local Berlin newspapers
<b>Demographic data for Berlin 1990-2000</b>	January 2011 - April 2011	~14000 entries	All demographic data for Berlin available on a district level before the district reform
<b>Demographic data for Berlin 2001-2009</b>	January 2011 - April 2011		All demographic data for Berlin available on a district level after the district reform

<b>Interviews, round 1</b>	June 2011 - September 2011	~15 hours of recorded material	Semi-structured interviews with renter advocacy groups, immigration delegates, urban researchers, and urban planning officials, primarily about Friedrichshain & Marzahn
<b>Legal texts</b>	September 2011 onwards	~15 texts	Applicable national and local legal texts related to the case study areas
<b>Newspaper keyword search</b>	January 2012	~85 pages, each with about 10 search results	Keyword search in national newspaper archive for the years 1990-1992 using GENIOS
<b>Interviews, round 2</b>	May 2012 - August 2012	~7 hours of recorded material	Semi-structured interviews with renter advocacy groups, immigration delegates, urban researchers, and urban planning officials, primarily about Mitte
<b><i>Soziale Stadt</i> reports for Berlin</b>	January 2013	10 reports	Reports from 1997, 1998, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 covering changes in the city since 1994

### 3.4.1 Demographic Data

Following the grounded theory method, the author did not take a selection of demographic data, but instead gathered all the data available on a district level for the time since reunification. The data categories are listed in table 3 below.

**Table 3. Demographic data categories that were available on a district level for Berlin between 1992 and 2010. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg.**

Kategorie 1	Kategorie 2	Titel	Datensatz
Bauen/Wohnen		Wohnungsfertigstellungen nach Bezirken	Veränderung, %
		Wohnungen	Wohnungen, je 1,000 Einwohner
			Wohnfläche je Einwohner (m2)
			Räume je Einwohner
Bevölkerung	Arbeit	Arbeitslose und Arbeitslosenquoten im Jahresdurchschnitt nach	Arbeitslose, Anteil in %
	Ausländer	Bevölkerung am 31. Dezember nach Bezirken, Altersgruppen und	Ausländer, Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung in %
		Ausländer nach Bezirken und ausgewählten Staatsangehörigkeiten	Türkei, Anteil in %
			Polen, Anteil in %
	Einkommen	Bevölkerung nach Bezirken und monatlichem Nettoeinkommen, in %	unter 600 DM/300 EUR
			von 600 bis 1000 DM/300 bis 500 EUR
			von 1000 bis 1400 DM/500 bis 700 EUR
			von 1400 bis 1800 DM/ 700 bis 900 EUR
			von 1800 bis 2200 DM/900 bis 1100 EUR
			von 2200 bis 2500 DM/1100 bis 1300 EUR
			von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR
			3000 DM und mehr/1500 EUR und mehr
			Ohne Einkommen
	Haushalte & Einkommen	Privathaushalte nach Bezirken und monatlichem Haushaltsnettoeinkommen, in %	unter 1000 DM/unter 500 EUR
			von 1000 bis 1800 DM/500 bis 900 EUR
			von 1800 bis 2500 DM/900 bis 1300 EUR
			von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR
			von 3000 bis 4000 DM/1500 bis 2000 EUR
			von 4000 bis 5000 DM/2000 bis 2600 EUR
			5000 DM und mehr/2600 EUR und mehr
	Haushalte	Privathaushalte nach Bezirken und Haushaltsgröße	einpersonenhaushalte, prozent
	Wanderung		Wanderungen über die Grenzen, Saldo, Absolut
			Umzüge von Bezirk zu Bezirk, Saldo
	Dichte	Bevölkerungsdichte nach Bezirken	Einwohner je Hektar, Gesamtfläche
Bildung		Klassen und Schüler der Gymnasien	Schüler, darunter Ausländer, %
		Klassen und Schüler der Hauptschulen	Schüler, darunter Ausländer, %
Öffentliche Strukturen		Kinderspielplätze in öffentlichen Anlagen am 31. Dezember	Kinderspielplätze, je 1000 Einwohner
Sozialleistungen	Wohngeld	Empfänger von allgemeinem Wohngeld nach Bezirken	Wohngeld, Empfängerhaushalte, insgesamt, je 1,000 Haushalte, absolut
Tourismus		Beherbergungsbetriebe sowie Gäste, Übernachtungen und Aufenthaltsdauer nach Bezirken	Betriebe je 1000 Einwohner
			Gäste je 1000 Einwohner

The consistency of the data was negatively impacted by three factors. Firstly, data for the first two years after reunification (1990 & 1991) was often missing. This is likely due to the complications attending the reunification of the city. Secondly, the 2000 currency shift from Deutschmarks (DM) to Euro complicates economic assessments. It should be noted that the relative value and number of the income brackets (i.e. from 3000 to 4000 DM) remained the same after the change. Thirdly, and most importantly for this study, the district reform of 2001 rendered an analysis of temporal development more or less useless. Both the (sub)district of Mitte (known post-2001 as Berlin-Mitte) and the (sub)district of Friedrichshain (known post-

2001 as Berlin-Friedrichshain) were merged with western sub-districts, making east/west comparisons impossible.

### 3.4.2 Interviews

The interviews for this project were completed in two rounds.

*Round 1* was completed between June and August 2011, under Exposés 2 and 3. The questions asked were therefore appropriate for the research questions set out in these two exposés. The questions centered around the demographic characteristics of the neighborhood, its built space characteristics, how it had developed since the fall of the Berlin Wall, and its medial representation. A complete question guide can be found in appendix 2.1.

*Round 2* was completed in May and June of 2012, under Exposé 5. The questions asked were therefore appropriate for the research questions set out in this exposé, as well as the advanced understanding of the author at this point in the investigation. The questions for this round of interviews centered therefore around changes to the built space and symbolic capital of the city (such as street names). Again, a complete question guide can be found in appendix 2.2.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner. The interviewer made contact via telephone or email, and then met the interviewee at an appointed time and place, usually in their office or workplace. The interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes and were recorded. In at least one case, the recording device switched off mid-interview (Interview 03, 2011), resulting in the unfortunate loss of about 20 minutes of data.

The interviewees were chosen for their roles as experts, defined as persons who are involved in the research object, who have intimate knowledge of the object of questioning from an insider perspective (Meuser & Nagel, 2002, p. 443). The desired quality in the interview partners was the intimate knowledge of the neighborhood. This involved both people working in the administration, who are in a position of control, but also those involved with socially-oriented non-profits (such as the *Volksolidarität*) and renter advocacy groups. The key assumption behind this choice was that people working in close contact with residents of the neighborhoods in question would be a good source of information about the district, its development, and its residents.

The interviewer used the snowball method to gain more interviewees (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). In all, 15 interviews with 16 interviewees were conducted in round 1, and 5 interviews with 5 persons in round 2 (table 4). Two interviewees from round 1 were re-interviewed in round 2, meaning that, in total, 19 individuals were questioned. This approach was used based on the exceptional knowledge of those two experts.

Table 4. Simple list of interviews

Interview number	Interview Date	Gender	Birth year	Current Job or Function
1	24.06.2011	M	1965	Local Non-Profit
2	29.06.2011	M	1970	Researcher
3	30.06.2011	M	1960s/1970s	Administration
4	30.06.2011	F	1965	Administration

5	04.07.2011	F	1960s/1970s	Local Non-Profit
5	04.07.2011	M	1960s/1970s	Local Non-Profit
6	11.07.2011	M	1940s/1950s	Renter Advocacy
7	12.07.2011	M	1960s/1970s	Local Non-Profit
8	13.07.2011	F	1944	Researcher
9	14.07.2011	M	1943	Researcher
10	18.07.2011	F	1950s/1960s	District Management
11	18.07.2011	F	1950s	Renter Advocacy
12	18.07.2011	M	1970	Researcher
13	20.07.2011	F	1950s/1960s	Administration
14	25.07.2011	M	ca. 1954	Local Non-Profit
15	25.07.2011	F	ca. 1954	Local Non-Profit
16	03.08.2011	F	1960s/1970s	Local Non-Profit
17	08.05.2012	M	1970	Researcher
18	09.05.2012	F	1944	Researcher
19	25.05.2012	F	1955	Administration
20	29.05.2012	M	1948	Administration
21	13.06.2012	M	1948	Architecture Critic

An anonymized typology of the interview partners follows in table 5.

Interview number	Interview Round 1	Interview Round 2	Gender	Birth year	Birthplace/ Socialization	East or West	Currently living in Berlin?	Neighborhood activist?	Displaced by neighborhood developments?	Breaks in Biography because of Reunification?	Researching Berlin?	Employment	Short Berlin-Related Biography
1	24.06.2011		M	1965	Bonn	West	Yes		Yes			Local Non-Profit	Works in the non-profit since 2000. Has lived in Berlin since the late 90s (Kreuzberg, then Friedrichshain, now elsewhere)
2	29.06.2011		M	1970	Leipzig	East	Yes				Yes	University/Research	Moved to Berlin in 1989 to start studying
3	30.06.2011		M	1960s/1970s	FRG	West	Yes					Municipal job	
4	30.06.2011		F	1965	Franken	West	Yes					Municipal job	In Berlin since 1993 for private reasons (her husband)
5	04.07.2011		F	1960s/1970s	GDR	East	Yes					Local Non-Profit	Has lived in Marzahn since 1993
5	04.07.2011		M	1960s/1970s	GDR	East	Yes					Local Non-Profit	Has lived in Berlin since childhood, Lived 1986-2002 in Marzahn-West
6	11.07.2011		M	1940s/1950s	East Berlin	East	Yes			Yes, Zwangsrente		Volunteer	Has lived in Berlin and surroundings since childhood. Moved to Marzahn in 1985
7	12.07.2011		M	1960s/1970s	FRG	West	Yes	Yes	Yes			Local Non-Profit	In Berlin since 1996
8	13.07.2011		F	1944	former Silesia	East	Yes				Yes	University/Research	Has lived in East Berlin since childhood
9	14.07.2011		M	1943	Baden-Württemberg	West	Yes				Yes	University/Research	Moved to Berlin to go to the university in 1964
10	18.07.2011		F	1950s/1960s	Spät-Aussiedler	-	Yes					Municipal job	Moved to Berlin after reunification
11	18.07.2011		F	1950s	East Berlin	East	Yes					Volunteer	Born and raised in a single family house in Berlin-Treptow, Moved to Friedrichshain in 1970
12	18.07.2011		M	1970	Thuringia	East	No				Yes	University/Research	Raised in Berlin-Mitte, Moved later to Prenzlauer Berg, then out of Berlin
13	20.07.2011		F	1950s/1960s	West Berlin	West	Yes					Municipal job	Lived in Berlin-Kreuzberg until 1994, then moved to the suburbs just outside the city limits
14	25.07.2011		M	ca. 1954	GDR	East	Yes					Local Non-Profit	Works in Marzahn since 1990. Currently lives in Prenzlauer Berg
15	25.07.2011		F	ca. 1954	East Berlin	East	Yes			Yes, Zwangsrente		Local Non-Profit	
16	03.08.2011		F	1960s/1970s	East Berlin	East	Yes	Yes	Yes			Local Non-Profit	Raised in Berlin-Köpenick, Lived in Friedrichshain 1986-2003. Currently lives in Berlin-Köpenick
17		08.05.2012	M	1970	Thuringia	East	No				Yes	University/Research	Raised in Berlin-Mitte, Moved later to Prenzlauer Berg, then out of Berlin
18		09.05.2012	F	1944	former Silesia	East	Yes				Yes	University/Research	Has lived in East Berlin since childhood
19		25.05.2012	F	1955	Schwerin	East	Yes	Yes	Yes			Former Municipal	Moved to Berlin to go to the university in the 70s
20		29.05.2012	M	1948	Thuringia	East	Yes					Municipal job	Transferred to Berlin in 1972
21		13.06.2012	M	1948	Berlin	East	Yes	To some degree			To some degree	Freelance	Has lived in Berlin and surroundings since childhood

Table 5. Typology of Interviewees.



### 3.4.3 Newspaper Articles

In January 2012, the author conducted a keyword search in the GENIOS server at the HU Library for the word "Marzahn". The search was conducted in regional and national newspapers for the years 1990-1992, in order to see in which context Marzahn was being used directly after German reunification. The author also conducted a search in *Die Zeit*, one of the largest periodicals in Germany, for the same time period. The search yielded over 80 pages of material – an illustrative selection of the results is contained in appendix 3.

The results were analyzed for entries in which the district was modified by an adjective or other descriptive word or group of words. A selection of examples can be found below in figure 6.

26.10.1991	POLITIK	Stuttgarter Zeitung
<b>Bauklötze, ein bißchen Grün - und fertig ist das Stadtviertel</b>		
Von Deutschland bezahlte Siedlungen für Sowjetsoldaten werden trist wie gehabt - UdSSR schaut lieber ...		
"Na, das kennen wir doch schon irgendwoher." Ein nicht sehr nostalgisches Seufzen geht durch die Reihen ...		
737 Wörter 2.38 EUR		
... Plumpe sechsstöckige Wohnblockquader à la Berlin-Marzahn oder Hoyerswerda füllen Bauklotz an Bauklotz ...		
12.03.1992	FIFU	Stuttgarter Zeitung
<b>Die Lage spitzt sich zu</b>		
"Zum Beispiel Berlin": Reportagen über Ausländerfeindlichkeit		
Fast jeden Monat beschäftigen rassistische Ausschreitungen die Berliner Öffentlichkeit.		
Vor Gericht wurden ...		
248 Wörter 2.38 EUR		
... bei seiner Arbeit in der Neubauwüste Marzahn im Ostteil der Stadt, wo Arbeitslosigkeit ...		
12.08.1991	POLITIK	Stuttgarter Zeitung
<b>"Biete 10000 Mark für eine Zweizimmerwohnung"</b>		
Die Mietpreise in Berlin explodieren - Spitzenwert: 615 Prozent Steigerung - Jährliche Zuwachsraten: ...		
Wanderer, kommst du an die Spree und suchst eine Wohnung, sei gewarnt: "Boomtown" Berlin explodiert. ...		
925 Wörter 2.38 EUR		
... der schrecklichen Öde ihrer Großsiedlung in Marzahn genug gestraft. Es gebe noch Flächen ...		
30.08.1991	Politik	Nürnberger Nachrichten
<b>Schorlemmer gegen juristische Verfolgung von SED-Größen/Honecker vor ein Tribunal?/Pfarrer und SPD-Politiker ...</b>		
BIELEFELD(AP) - Gegen eine juristische Verfolgung des früheren DDR-Staatschefs Erich Honecker hat sich ...		
167 Wörter 2.38 EUR		
... normale Dreizimmerwohnung mit seiner Frau in Marzahn. Das wäre eine entsprechende Strafe: leben ...		
13.01.1992	DREI	Stuttgarter Zeitung
<b>Wird "Heimstatt" zum Ghetto?</b>		
Das Plattenbau-Gebirge in Marzahn / Von Joachim Rogge, Berlin		
Das schnelle Urteil schmerzt und läßt die Menschen in Verteidigungsstellung gehen. "Wer hier wohnt, kann ...		
669 Wörter 2.38 EUR		
... leben in der Betonwüste von Berlin-Marzahn, das inzwischen zum Synonym für die ...		
... in bis zu 16geschossigen Hochhäusern ist Marzahn heute die größte geschlossene Neubausiedlung Deutschlands, ...		
... und Erich Honecker fabulierte, daß mit Marzahn "unsere Hauptstadt nun eine neue Stufe ...		

Figure 6. Examples of descriptive word clusters from the newspaper search.

### 3.4.4 Primary Literature about Berlin

Works about Berlin were taken as data points in the meta-analysis, both for the semiotic and the discourse analyses.

The *semiotic analysis* concentrated on works about changes in Berlin since the fall of the Wall (i.e. Azaryahu, 1997; Birkholz, 2008; Colomb, 2012; De Soto, 1996; Hain, 1997; Hennecke, 2010; Huyssen, 1997, 2003; Ladd, 1997; Lenhart, 2001; Strom, 2001), which included changes to street names, architectural changes, urban development, and marketing.

Additionally, the author analyzed primary literature printed by the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Planning, Environmental Protection and Technology (Nagel & Stimmann, 1994; Stimmann, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2009a, 2009b) for the *discourse analysis* portion of the project. These official publications were essential for the creation and maintenance of hegemonic control and consensus in the years following reunification.

## 3.5 Data Analysis

The data analysis followed several paths; this process was also linked to the development of the research questions and exposés detailed above.

### 3.5.1 Quantitative Approach

A Pearson's correlation test was performed on the data listed in section 3.4.1 to find non-correlated data categories. Then, after discussion with the advisorship, the following clusters were selected (here indicated with their correlation coefficients):

#### 1. Stigma Cluster

	Ausländer, Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung in %	Bevölkerung ohne Einkommen, in %	Wohngeld Empfängerhaushalte, je 1,000 Haushalte
Ausländer, Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung in %		,126	,167
Bevölkerung ohne Einkommen, in %	,126		,155
Wohngeld Empfängerhaushalte, je 1,000 Haushalte	,167	,155	

#### 2. Lower-middle class individuals & households, Single households, Wohngeld recipients

	Bevölkerung Nettoeinkommen von 1400 bis 1800 DM/ 700 bis 900 EUR, %	Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR, %	Einpersonenhaushalte, %	Wohngeld Empfängerhaushalte, je 1,000 Haushalte
Bevölkerung Nettoeinkommen von 1400 bis 1800 DM/ 700 bis 900 EUR, %		-,057	,048	,149
Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR, %	-,057		-,078	,153
Einpersonenhaushalte, %	,048	-,078		-,006
Wohngeld Empfängerhaushalte, je 1,000 Haushalte	,149	,153	-,006	

### 3. Household income structure

	Haushalt Nettoeinkommen unter 1000 DM/unter 500 EUR, %	Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 1800 bis 2500 DM/900 bis 1300 EUR, %	Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR, %
Haushalt Nettoeinkommen unter 1000 DM/unter 500 EUR, %		,054	,098
Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 1800 bis 2500 DM/900 bis 1300 EUR, %	,054		,107
Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR, %	,098	,107	

### 4. Building housing, Household income structure, Out-migration

	Wohnungsfertigstellungen nach Bezirken, Veränderung gegenüber dem Vorjahr in %	Haushalt Nettoeinkommen unter 1000 DM/unter 500 EUR, %	Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 1800 bis 2500 DM/900 bis 1300 EUR, %	Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR, Prozent	Wanderungen über die Grenzen, Saldo
Wohnungsfertigstellungen nach Bezirken, Veränderung gegenüber dem Vorjahr in %		,086	-,029	,033	,001
Haushalt Nettoeinkommen unter 1000 DM/unter 500 EUR, %	,086		,054	,098	,093
Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 1800 bis 2500 DM/900 bis 1300 EUR, %	-,029	,054		,107	-,123
Haushalt Nettoeinkommen von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR, Prozent	,033	,098	,107		-,070
Wanderungen über die Grenzen, Saldo	,001	,093	-,123	-,070	

Cluster analyses were performed following Kabisch, Haase & Haase (2010, p. 278) with data from these categories for the time period up until 2001 (before the district reform). The cluster analyses yielded no viable clusters.

The clusters were chosen for the following reasons:

1. The Stigma Cluster: these resident characteristics are common for stigmatized housing complexes as documented in the literature. These are also the attributes most often ascribed to the residents of stigmatized housing estates (for example Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings & Dean, 2001; Hastings, 2004)
2. Lower-middle class individuals & households, Single households, Wohngeld recipients: again, these are stigmatized resident characteristics, as noted for cluster 1.
3. Household income structure: non-correlated income data could indicate clustering of certain households in certain areas.

4. Building housing. Household income structure. Out-migration: this cluster's goal was to examine the construction of new housing in terms of low and middle-class households and out-migration (migration out of the city limits).

In light of the lack of tangible results from the cluster analysis, the author turned to qualitative approaches to answer the research questions.

### **3.5.2 Coding and Qualitative Content Analysis**

Both rounds of interviews were transcribed with f4 and coded with the freeware program WeftQDA. For both rounds of interviews, the coding was performed in two steps. The first round of coding was based on the questions (appendix 2), following categories such as resident characteristics, demographic changes, positive/negative traits, etc. The second round of coding involved "free-coding" and used the snowball method to capture and categorize information of possible interest not directly addressed by the questions. This approach was based on qualitative content analysis described by Lamnek (2005 ch. 10). A screenshot of the categories are shown exemplarily below in figure 7.

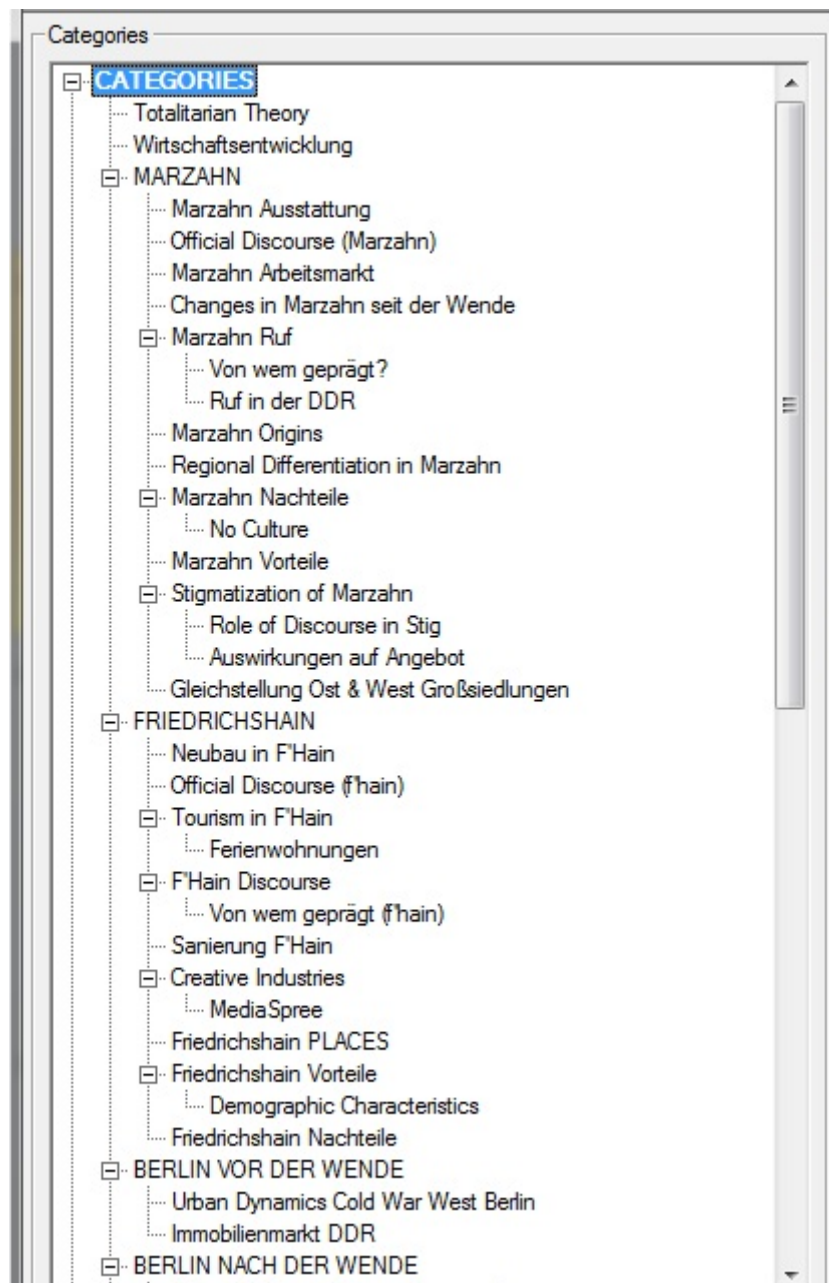


Figure 7. Screenshot of codes and categories used to code the interview material.

The information presented in the interviews, far from being a definitive statement about the positive and negative aspects of the districts in question, was used to indicate the direction for further research. So, for example, in the case of the first round of interviews, one of the clearest messages was that changes in the district Berlin-Mitte were critical to the understanding of changes in the other eastern districts, prompting the second round of interviews. Interviewees also indicated the names of key actors (such as Hans Stimmann) in the interviews, prompting further research of these persons and their publications.

### 3.5.3 Discourse Analysis

The purpose of the discourse analytical portion of this dissertation was to understand the new hegemonic framing of built structures in East Berlin. The text sources used in the analysis were official planning documents (described in section 3.4.4 “Primary Literature about Berlin”

above), and the newspaper articles about Berlin-Marzahn. This analysis examined descriptive words, citations, and associated phrases/context to assess the new framing of existing structures (to justify action, create consensus, or naturalize a new worldview).

Following the empirical and methodological work of Glasze & Mattissek (2009a), who operationalized the discourse and hegemony theories of Laclau & Mouffe, the author analyzed the texts mentioned above based on the categories “descriptive words”, “citations”, “comparisons” and “coincident cases”. For example, a text snippet in which Marzahn is described as a “Betonwüste” (concrete desert), would be placed under “descriptive words”, while the citation of a main work of postmodernist critique in a post-1990 planning document about Marzahn would be coded under “citations”. Comparisons between pre-socialist and socialist historical city structure would be coded as “comparisons”, while coincident chapters in the same anthology praising future postmodern building projects and criticizing modernist/socialist building projects were coded as “coincident cases”.

### 3.5.4 Semiotic Analysis

Reflection, discussion, iteration of the analysis, and review of further literature determined that an operationalization of the linguistic theory of semiotics for the analysis of the cultural landscape was the best approach for a comprehensive understanding of the *problématique*, and an effective synthesis of the various pieces into a complete picture. The purpose of the semiotic analytical portion of this dissertation was to analyze changes to Berlin’s symbolic landscape on the macro, meso and micro levels.

The *macro level* refers to the meta-analytical portion of the analysis, namely the piecing together of results from various detail studies conducted about built space changes (i.e. about critical reconstruction, the *Palast der Republik*, or street name changes) to create a comprehensive picture of all the changes in East Berlin.

The *meso* and *micro level* refer to the analysis of single outstanding examples using semiotic principles, including Greimas’ semiotic square (*meso level*) and the orders of signification (*micro level*). Examples explicated in section 4 below include *Planwerk Innenstadt* and critical reconstruction, the *Stadtschloss/Palast der Republik*, and Clara-Zetkin-Straße/Dorotheenstraße.

### 3.5.5 Inductive Analysis and Synthesis

The final section of the methodology, the author brought together the discourse and semiotic analyses, and reflected these in light of legal and demographic changes to develop results regarding the material developments attendant to the discursive and symbolic shifts.



## 4

### Results

The following sections are organized according to the order of publication of three original scientific publications in the addendum.

#### 4.1 Semiotic Analysis

##### 4.1.1 East Berlin as a Syntagm

Following the analysis of Barthes mentioned above, the author posits the conceptualization of East Berlin as a syntagm, or “an orderly combination of interacting signifiers which forms a meaningful whole within a text” (Chandler, 2007, p. 85). To recap the description given in the introduction, the options on the paradigmatic axis can be understood as mutually-exclusive interchangeable options whose composition together in the syntagmatic axis (following the given rules of the system, i.e. one does not wear a hat on one’s hand) creates a comprehensible whole, the syntagm (figure 8).

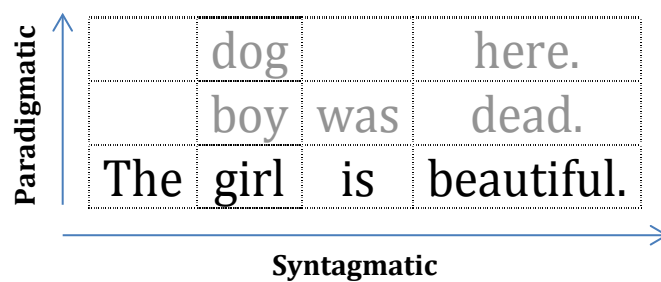


Figure 8. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 84).

Syntagms can be nested in the text, i.e. a sentence, paragraph and chapter are all individual syntagms. This analysis builds off of this concept, and describes the cultural landscape in three distinct spatial levels.

Thus, the author operationalizes the concept of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes for the cultural landscape in the following way (*macro level*):

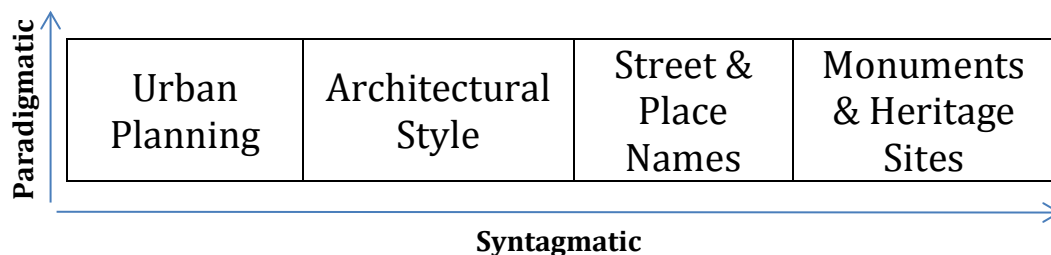
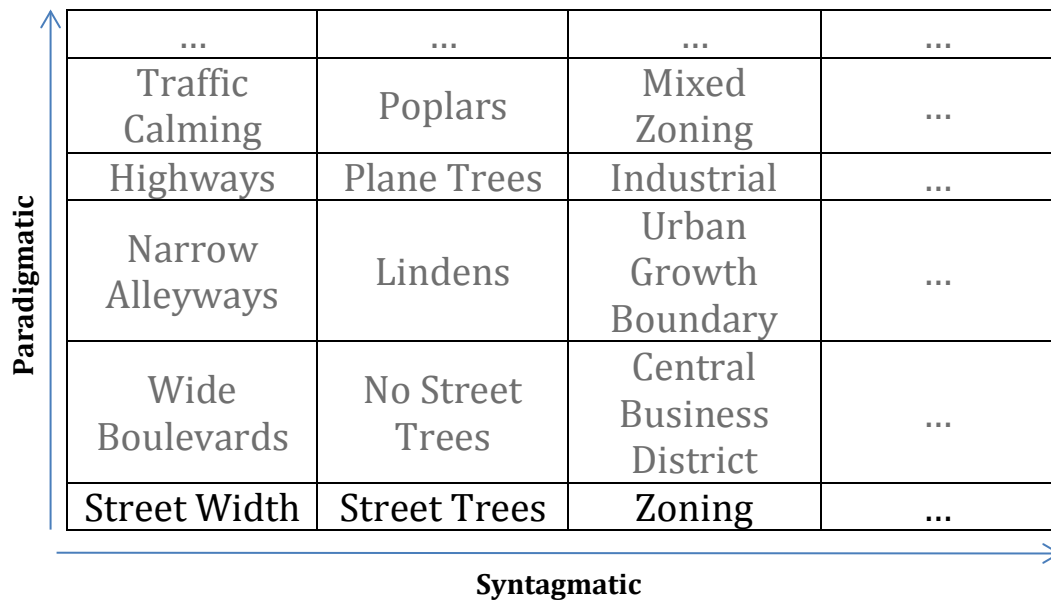


Figure 9. The cultural landscape as a syntagm.

Each of the elements presented in figure 9 is part of a comprehensive cultural landscape, and is equally itself the basis for syntagmatic and paradigmatic operationalization. Thus, urban planning for example can be analyzed in the following way (*meso level*):



The diagram illustrates the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes for urban planning analysis. A vertical blue arrow on the left is labeled 'Paradigmatic' and points upwards. A horizontal blue arrow at the bottom is labeled 'Syntagmatic' and points to the right. A table is positioned between these arrows, with its rows aligned with the vertical axis and its columns aligned with the horizontal axis.

...	...	...	...
Traffic Calming	Poplars	Mixed Zoning	...
Highways	Plane Trees	Industrial	...
Narrow Alleyways	Lindens	Urban Growth Boundary	...
Wide Boulevards	No Street Trees	Central Business District	...
Street Width	Street Trees	Zoning	...

Figure 10. Syntagm of urban planning.

Following this pattern, architectural style involves syntagmatic elements such as façade material, roof height, and window positioning. Street and place names represent the network of all named spaces, with the infinite name options, and monuments and heritage sites can be analyzed as the presence or absence (or replacement) of commemoration on these highly symbolic and ideological sites.

Continuing with the concept of nested scales, the *micro level* of a syntagmatic analysis would examine the individual elements of a single street or building. This can be particularly informative for highly significant places, such as selected monuments.

The following results present the four elements of the cultural landscape as a syntagm presented in figure 9 above for East Berlin after 1990. The results of this analysis are summarized in article 1 in the addendum. They will be explicated here and illustrated through four prominent examples.

#### 4.1.2 Place Names

Similar to in other socialist cities, street names were an important aspect of the symbolic appropriation of the urban landscape in the GDR and in particular in Berlin. In June of 1991, the Berlin Senate suggested the renaming of 190 streets in East Berlin (Azaryahu, 1997). In total, more than 80 streets were renamed between 1990 and 1994 in the eastern part of the city (Ladd, 1997). Despite the theoretical application to the entire city, as Brian Ladd points out, “the government ... restricted its purview to the former East Berlin, effectively limiting its purge to *leftist* opponents of the Weimar democracy” (Ladd, 1997, p. 211). Street renaming was so sweeping and high-profile that it was even featured in at least one film, where the protagonist,



incarcerated at the time of the street-renaming, becomes a taxi driver on his release, and must navigate the new streetscape and symbolic landscape (Stöhr, 2001).

The purpose of this project is to provide a comprehensive look at the symbolic changes together (*macro level*), however the *meso* and *micro level* analysis of one street name change will be presented here, both to illustrate the methodology and present a particularly demonstrative example.

### *Clara-Zetkin Straße*

As an example of a street name change, the author has chosen Clara-Zetkin-Straße, which was renamed to Dorotheenstraße in 1995.

The street is located in the district of Mitte, and runs parallel to the main thoroughfare *Unter den Linden*. It runs from the corner of the German parliamentary building (*Reichstag*), crosses Friedrichstraße just one block south of Friedrichstraße station, and continues to the bank of the Spree canal (figure 11). This particular portion of Mitte around Friedrichstraße is a main business center in the city, home to many prominent tourist attractions, and the location of the main campus of the Humboldt-Universität. It is therefore a highly visible place with a large number of visitors per day and a close proximity to other significant symbolic spaces in the city (such as the *Stadtschloss* building site, the Reichstag, or Brandenburg Gate). One could say that the street lies in the heart of the main representational space of the city.



Figure 11. Map of the location of the former Clara-Zetkin-Straße. Source: Google Maps.

The street, originally known as Dorotheenstraße up until the city's division, was renamed to Clara-Zetkin-Straße in 1951. It was renamed Dorotheenstraße in 1995, in the second wave of street renamings (Azaryahu, 1997; De Soto, 1996).

In this setting, Greimas' semiotic square serves the function of allowing a deeper understanding and better transparency of paradigmatic options (figure 12). The commission responsible for the renaming of streets set the following guidelines for new street names:

“(1) persons who actively helped to destroy the Weimar Republic should not be honored; (2) persons who fought after 1933 against the National Socialists in order to construct a communist dictatorship should not be honored; (3) only those persons should be honored who fought for human as well as citizen rights, and for the rule of law and for democracy; (4) new names for streets would be suggested from those persons who fought for a *Rechtstaat* (state

based on bourgeois law), who defended the Weimar Republic, and who fought against the dictatorships of the National Socialists and the German Democratic Republic” (De Soto, 1996, p. 34).

The wording here is significant for the main argumentation of this paper: here the GDR is touted twice as a dictatorship, and set semantically equal to the National Socialists. The commission had therefore a free choice within these parameters, or all four of the options shown in figure 12. Taking the old and new street names as contraries, the four options for a street name become “Clara-Zetkin-Straße”, “Dorotheenstraße”, “Not Clara-Zetkin-Straße”, and “Not Dorotheenstraße”. Thus, the attendant actions would have been no renaming, decommemoration, or re-naming/recommemoration (neither Clara-Zetkin-Straße nor Dorotheenstraße, but rather something completely new, either with or without commemorative function).

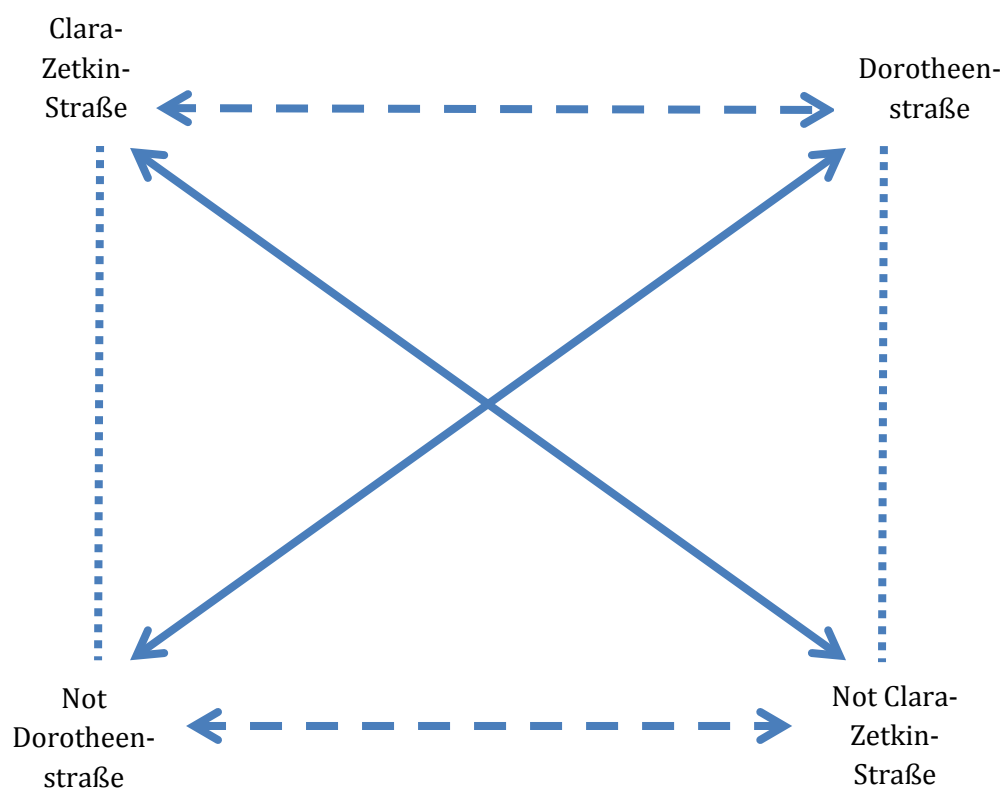


Figure 12. Greimas' semiotic square for street names. Dashed arrows show the relation between contraries, solid lines show the relation between contradictories and dotted lines show the relation of implication. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 107).

Moving into the *micro level* of the analysis, Clara Zetkin is a prime example of the controversial nature of street renaming. The author uses the orders of signification to analyze the symbolic capital of a commemoration of Clara Zetkin.

2nd Order (Connotation)	Martyr of the NS regime	Died in Exile in Moscow, 1933, after NS coup
	Active proponent of communism in Germany	Co-Founder of German Communist Party
	Politically active in the Weimar Republic	1920-1933, Member of the German <i>Reichstag</i>
	One of the first German feminists	Women's rights activist starting in the 1890s
1st Order (Denotation)	German Socialist feminist, b. 1857, d. 1933	
	"Clara Zetkin"	
	Commemoration, "Clara-Zetkin-Straße"	

Figure 13. Orders of signification of Clara-Zetkin-Straße. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 140).

Based on the orders of signification in figure 13, and returning to the guidelines set forth by the commission, Clara Zetkin seems like a socialist commemoration that might not need to be changed. Indeed, she was an active part of the Weimar Republic and a martyr of the National Socialist rise to power, dying in exile in Moscow after the ban of the communist party in 1933. Zetkin's name is also still an important rallying cry in the debates around feminism and women's rights.

So why was this street renamed? Two salient reasons present themselves. First, the location of the street is significant. It is both very central and in close proximity to the newly constructed (or, at the time of renaming, planned) government quarter. Thus, the symbolic significance of this street for the representation of a desired historical narrative is higher than in other parts of the city. Secondly, the idealization of Clara Zetkin was highly instrumentalized by the GDR; she stood as a symbol of the strong socialist woman, the 'birth mother' of the far left in Germany, and a martyr of the fascists. As with many other examples touched on in this project, the significance of the symbol in the fallen socialist regime is directly proportionate to its rejection in reunified Germany.

But decommemoration would have been possible without recommemoration. Simply put, the set of names {not-Clara-Zetkin-Straße} certainly *includes* Dorotheenstraße, but also any number of other names both with and without commemorative function. Clara-Zetkin-Straße could just have easily become a German equivalent of Cross Street or Sixth Avenue, which brings the choice of the new name into even clearer focus.

Dorotheenstraße, the pre-socialist historical name of the street, stems from the princess Sophia Dorothea (1636-1689), wife of the Friedrich William, Elector of Brandenburg, who received this

portion of the city as a gift and modeled it after Amsterdam (De Soto, 1996, p. 35). The invocation of Sophia Dorothea is simultaneously an invocation of a connection to a historical narrative, in this case with the Electors of Brandenburg and the era before the ravages of two world wars.

Additionally, it should be noted that the decommemoration in favor of the original name also represents a less active option than a new commemoration. A decommemoration has a very specific function, and represents a very specific way of looking at the world; it is a removal, a discrediting, a delegitimization. It is the 'correction of an error' as opposed to the fabrication of a new narrative and the placement of new symbols which we will see in further examples.

#### 4.1.3 Restructuring

These place-name changes were accompanied by comprehensive changes to the architectural structure of the city center, which took place through the introduction of a new aesthetic *Leitbild* called "critical reconstruction", a new set of plans called *Planwerk Innenstadt*<sup>5</sup>, and the construction of the *Stadtschloss*, each of which will be discussed together here, and explicated individually below.

Critical reconstruction, the dominant planning position in post-reunification Berlin, can be explained in part through its context in the discourses of postmodern and European (that is, as opposed to American) urban development. Critical reconstruction bundled together the rediscovery and revitalization of inner city areas, an aversion to high-rises as bastions of the modernist past, and the invocation of the "European city" whose fine-grained mix of uses was, in the opinions of the planners, uniquely conducive to creating lively urban areas<sup>6</sup>. These efforts were combined with a desire to create an "authentic" historical Berlin (Strom, 2001), endeavors that were profoundly complicated by Berlin's tumultuous and troubled past, traces of which lurk around every corner (Ladd, 1997).

The answer to these theoretical and ideological constraints was the fabrication of a new "Prussian" architectural and cultural tradition based on pre-WWI urban development in Berlin, in particular the tenement housing erected during Berlin's industrial boom (Huyssen, 1997; Ladd, 1997; Marcuse, 1998; Spittler & Knischewski, 1995; Strom, 2001). The new building guidelines followed in part those of the nineteenth century, for example by setting building height limits, and embraced a fine-grained urban structure; "The newly rebuilt blocks are supposed to be divided into individual buildings with identifiable entrances, rules intended to prevent long and forbidding facades that generate no activity on the street" (Ladd, 1997, p. 232). The proponents of critical reconstruction invoked the names of famous German architects such as Schinkel, Behrens, and Tessenow (Huyssen, 1997) in an attempt to legitimize the "traditional" historical basis of their designs; "Berlin must be Berlin, they say. Identity is at stake. ... Prescriptions such as city block building, traditional window facades, a uniform height of twenty-two meters (the ritualistically invoked *Traufhöhe*), and building in stone are

---

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed look at urban development politics in Berlin's central district Mitte, please refer to Lenhart (2001).

<sup>6</sup> This follows the work of Jane Jacobs (1961) and Robert Venturi (1966) and the postmodern architects and theorists who followed.

vociferously defended against all evidence that such traditionalism is wholly imaginary” (Huyssen, 1997, p. 68).

The decisively anti-modernist stance of the advocates of critical reconstruction stood in direct conflict with both first and second wave modernism, including both Bauhaus designs of the 1920s and 30s and the built form of the 1960s and 70s in West Berlin and the GDR era in East Berlin (Huyssen, 1997; Ladd, 1997); “Berlin’s planners, and the critics and theorists whose lead they follow, have nothing but kind words for the beauty of the estates designed by Wagner, Taut, and their colleagues. But conventional wisdom sees 1920s modernism as the model for the inferior buildings that followed, especially the postwar plague of concrete high-rises in East and West” (Ladd, 1997, p. 109, 110). This stance attacks high-rise buildings in particular, which “are seen as out of place amid Berlin’s traditional five- to six- storied buildings ... they cast shadows over their surroundings and, when used for housing, increase the anonymity of urban life” (Strom, 2001, p. 140). The new planning additionally based itself on the industrial-era street plan of the city, which the planners referred to as “the memory of the city” (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin, 2000; Stimmann, 2001a). Indeed, this semantic construction establishes one legitimate memory and history above all others through the invocation of “the” memory of the city (as previously discussed in section 2.2.3).

Critical reconstruction created an all-embracing *Leitbild* that was firmly based on western aesthetic ideals, democracy, postmodernism, and capitalism; „In this process, it’s not just about a concrete problem in a single place, but about the orthodox enforcement of an overarching principle through which 80 years of urban development according to the principles of ‘light, air, and sun’ can be discredited as completely misguided” (Hain, 1997, p. 115) . The new “Prussian” tradition evokes the building style of the pre-1914 era, low-slung buildings with 5 to 6 stories and stone facades, categorically excluding the urban legacy of two world wars and the modernist experimentations both before and after (Ladd, 1997).

The style set out in critical reconstruction hearkens back to an idealized golden age in Berlin’s history before the traumata of two world wars and forty years’ division (Ladd, 1997). Critics argue that this approach systematically excludes the built space of the Weimar, Nazi, and GDR eras (Huyssen, 1997; Ladd, 1997; Marcuse, 1998; Strom, 2001). Other critics attack critical reconstruction as a politically-desired denial of the GDR past; “from this perspective, it is no wonder that the devaluation of post-war urban structures – even though it was in essence a swan song to modernist urbanism and applied to both parts of the city – became a strong conflict point in former East Berlin as it was seen by many as yet another attempt to eradicate East Germans’ past and identity” (Tölle, 2010, p. 352). The new guideline provided for the complete restructuring of the socialist downtown, including the removal of many of the central government buildings of the GDR and the dismantling of the architectural ensemble in which they were embedded (for an exhaustive examination of individual examples, please see Danesch, 2010). The most hotly debated of these changes was the closing and demolition of the *Palast der Republik*, the seat of the GDR parliament (Barti, 2008; Binder, 2007; Colomb, 2007; Hennet, 2005; Jordan, 2007; Ledanff, 2003; Mürbe, 2007; Schug, 2007). The *Palast der Republik*, completed in 1973, stood at the end of Unter den Linden, at the intersection of the axis between Brandenburg Gate and Alexanderplatz. It was the clear focal point of the spatial situation created by the Marx-Engels Forum. Undoubtedly the most contentious aspect of the debate was the fact that the *Palast der Republik* had been erected on the location of the demolished Hohenzollern (City) Palace (*Stadtschloss*). The Hohenzollern palace had been badly damaged in

bombing attacks during the war. Nevertheless, the demolition of the remaining building in 1950 was seen by many in West Berlin as a clearly politically-motivated decision by the socialists. This act triggered outrage in West Berlin, and provoked one of the fiercest debates of the post-reunification era. Many conservatives saw the demolition of the *Palast der Republik* as the only option after reunification; “here, East German history was embodied by the Palace of the Republic” (Ladd, 1997, p. 62). When, shortly after reunification, a private lobby was created for the reconstruction of the *Stadtschloss*, conservative politicians were the first to laud the idea. Brian Ladd puts the debate in the context of Cold War tensions; “this thirst for justice (or vengeance) had a particular historical context: ... A rebuilt palace would celebrate victory in the Cold War by wiping out all traces of East Germany on the site” (Ladd, 1997, pp. 61 & 62).

The demolition of the *Stadtschloss* and the construction of the *Palast der Republik* in its place was an unmistakable expression of cultural power on the part of the socialists. The location represents the geographical, historic and cultural focal point of the city, therefore the building or monument occupying this spot defines the tone of the spatial and cultural hegemony in Berlin. For this reason, the creation of a lobby to replace the *Palast der Republik* with a reconstruction of the *Stadtschloss* is not surprising. Indeed, it epitomizes the reactionary nature of anti-communism after the end of the Cold War; “The perspective of the victor, wishing to ratify a triumph, just as the Communist victors of 1945 had triumphantly cleared away the royal palace” (Ladd, 1997, p. 63).

These three examples will be examined in detail below on the *meso* and *micro* levels.

### **Planwerk Innenstadt & Critical Reconstruction**

Again, Greimas’ semiotic square provides a good starting point for the specific analyses of the syntagmatic parts of East Berlin, in this case urban planning and architectural style. In this case, the author takes the existing socialist modernist urban planning and *Planwerk Innenstadt* as contraries, thereby creating the contradictories “Not Socialist Modernist Urban Planning” and “Not *Planwerk Innenstadt*” (figure 14). This forms the starting point for the *meso level* analysis. Thus the attendant actions to the four options are to leave the urban fabric as it is (“Socialist Modernist Urban Planning”), completely redesign the city center based on *Planwerk Innenstadt*, or their contraries (neither a complete restructuring nor the simple preservation of the *status quo*).



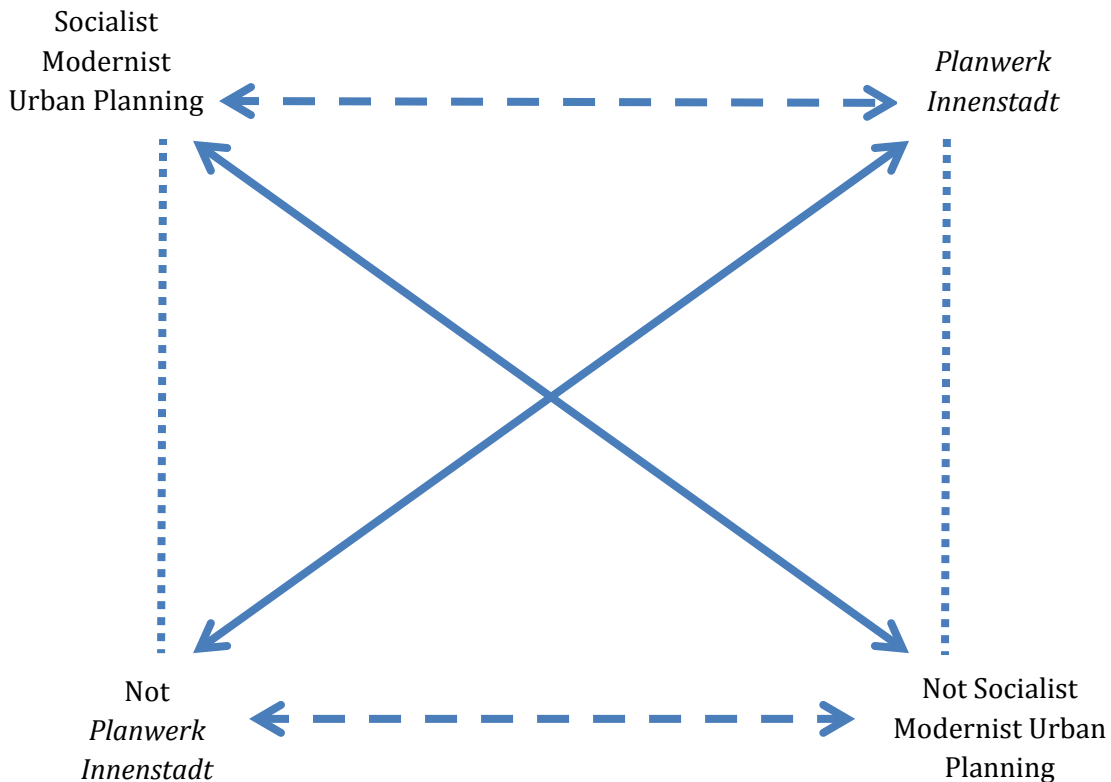


Figure 14. Greimas' semiotic square for urban planning. Dashed arrows show the relation between contraries, solid lines show the relation between contradictories and dotted lines show the relation of implication. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 107).

It cannot be denied that new planning measures were necessary, in particular to unite the two halves of the city which had both developed separately over the forty years' division; alone the question of infrastructure such as roads and public transportation is the source of projects continuing during the writing of this thesis. These pragmatic considerations are however not the focus of this portion of the analysis. Here I would like to explicate the very specific physical attributes of the socialist landscape that were, after reunification, deemed unfitting for the new German capital.

*Planwerk Innenstadt* called for a complete restructuring of Berlin's inner city. It would go well beyond the scope of this project to describe all the changes in detail, but to summarize and generalize, *Planwerk Innenstadt* called for the narrowing of streets through new construction, the return to the pre-WWI block structure, the orientation of building fronts to the street, and the enclosure and restructuring of wide open spaces in the city center (such as Alexanderplatz) through new construction. These guidelines are in strong contrast to the socialist and modernist restructuring of the city during Berlin's division.

Again, these fundamental structural and symbolic changes to the cultural landscape are linked to two main reasons. First, the division of the city meant the adjacent physical expression of two diametrically opposed architectural discourses; this is discussed in detail in article 2 and section 4.2 below. But above and beyond the 'purely' modernist aspects of the built space which would have been regarded by Americans and Western Europeans as outdated in 1990 in any spatial context, the significance attributed to the specific landscape changes in the socialist cultural landscape (similar to the example of Clara Zetkin above), created an additional layer of meaning,

which Cold War tensions and the complication of the German national narrative could not allow to stand; this is the second significant reason for the necessity of restructuring the inner city.

Socialist modernist planning, like any form of planning, created spaces imbued with ideology. In the case of socialist modernism of the post-war period, this involved the slab building technique, the disengagement of buildings from street-fronts, centralization, and the construction of wide boulevards, squares and plazas for political rallies. The forms of built space were intended to support the day-to-day normalization of the socialist way of life through collectivism, centrality and homogeneity. Thus, modernism in the eastern half of the city possessed an additional layer of meaning, as examined on the *micro level* in the orders of signification below (figure 15).

2nd Order (Connotation)	Symbolic connection to Russia	Karl-Marx-Allee, the 'Road to Moscow'
	Political reminder of the fallen regime	Ensemble: Marx-Engels Square & <i>Palast d. Republik</i>
	Reminder of fallen regime, now without purpose	Ensemble: State-Owned Industry Headquarters
1st Order (Denotation)	Socialist Modernist Urban Planning	
	City Center	
	Urban Structure of Berlin-Mitte, 1990	

Figure 15. Orders of signification of *Planwerk Innenstadt*. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 140).

Figure 15 shows a small selection of the changes made to the center of the city, comprised primarily of the axis from Friedrichshain over Karl-Marx-Allee, bending at Alexanderplatz to continue in the architectural ensemble including the television tower and the former location of the *Palast der Republik* (figure 16).



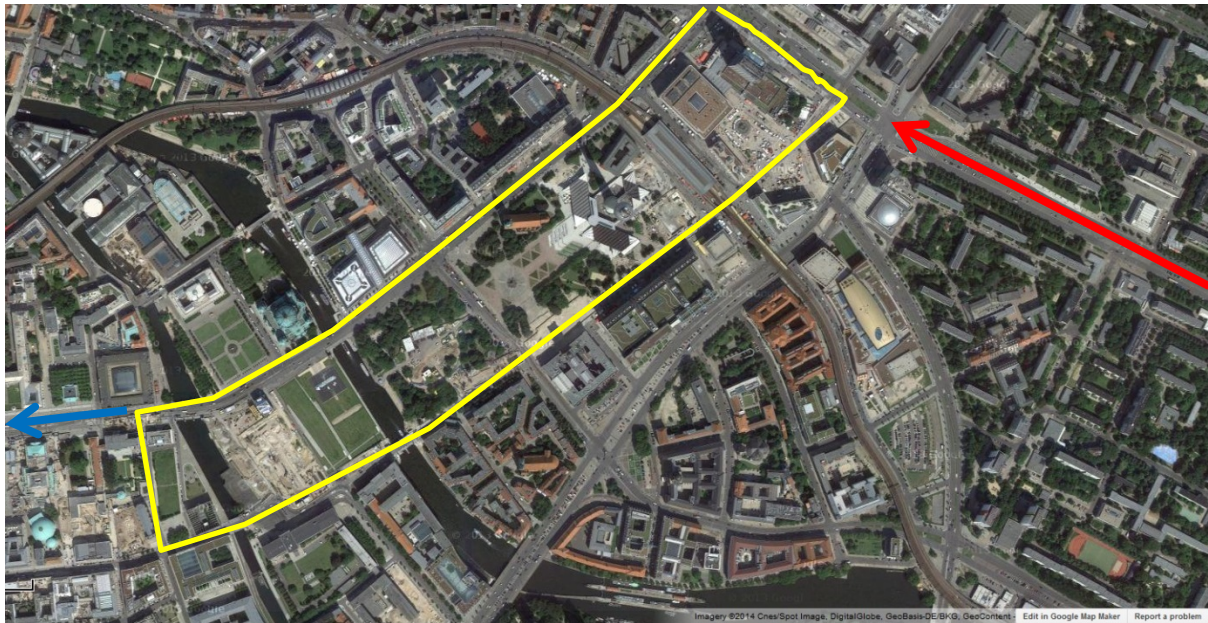


Figure 16. Map of the central ensemble in Berlin-Mitte. The red arrow shows the entry of Karl-Marx-Allee, the yellow polygon indicates the extent of the main ensemble, and the blue arrow indicates the main thoroughfare *Unter den Linden*, which ends at Brandenburg Gate and the former border between East and West Berlin. Source: Google Maps.

As outlined in article 1 and elsewhere (Dellenbaugh & Horne, n.d.; Dellenbaugh, 2012), the changes to this architectural ensemble, which was ringed to the north by the headquarters of the state-owned industry, formed the axis between the main train station (Alexanderplatz) and the *Palast der Republik*, and was main East-West traffic conduit, marked not only significant spatial changes, but a break with the ideology that they naturalized. Thus the dismantling of the ensemble, the fragmentation and isolation of its respective parts, and the reorientation of the visual axes within the space all served to reorient, reframe and invalidate the spatial arguments made by the construction in the first place. The construction of a ring of buildings dividing Karl-Marx-Allee from Alexanderplatz' main square also breaks the functionality and symbolism of this space as both the mouth of the 'road to Moscow', and the endpoint of rallies starting in the eastern part of the city.

In addition to their reactionary stance, the structural considerations of *Planwerk Innenstadt* link back to a very specific time period, namely the time of Germany's industrial revolution and urban expansion. It, and critical reconstruction, call upon the "memory of the city", singularizing the concept of memory, and invoking a single historiography based on the materiality of industrial expansion.

Critical reconstruction, the architectural *Leitbild* that guided the specific building projects embedded in the complex of *Planwerk Innenstadt*, additionally reinforced the nostalgic character of urban planning and building projects through the enforcement of historical roof heights, stone or ceramic facades, regular window placement, and other physical attributes that would make new buildings blend with the industrial-era urban structure. Thus, the nostalgic and conservative pre-WWI image of the city was pursued across several spatial scales: district, neighborhood, block and building.

## Palast der Republik

The most significant symbolic change in the inner-city is without doubt the removal of the *Palast der Republik* and the reconstruction of the *Stadtschloss*. As this debate is explicated in detail elsewhere in this document, only a short empirical analysis will be outlined here.

Again, Greimas' semiotic square creates transparency regarding the paradigmatic options. The set of options presented here is the *Palast der Republik*, the *Stadtschloss*, and their contraries Not *Palast der Republik* and Not *Stadtschloss*. Thus the attendant actions in the urban landscape would be to maintain and possibly repurpose the *Palast der Republik*, tear it down (with the possibility of replacement), tear it down and replace it with the *Stadtschloss*, or not realize the reconstruction of the *Stadtschloss* (irrespective of what remains on the site) (figure 17).

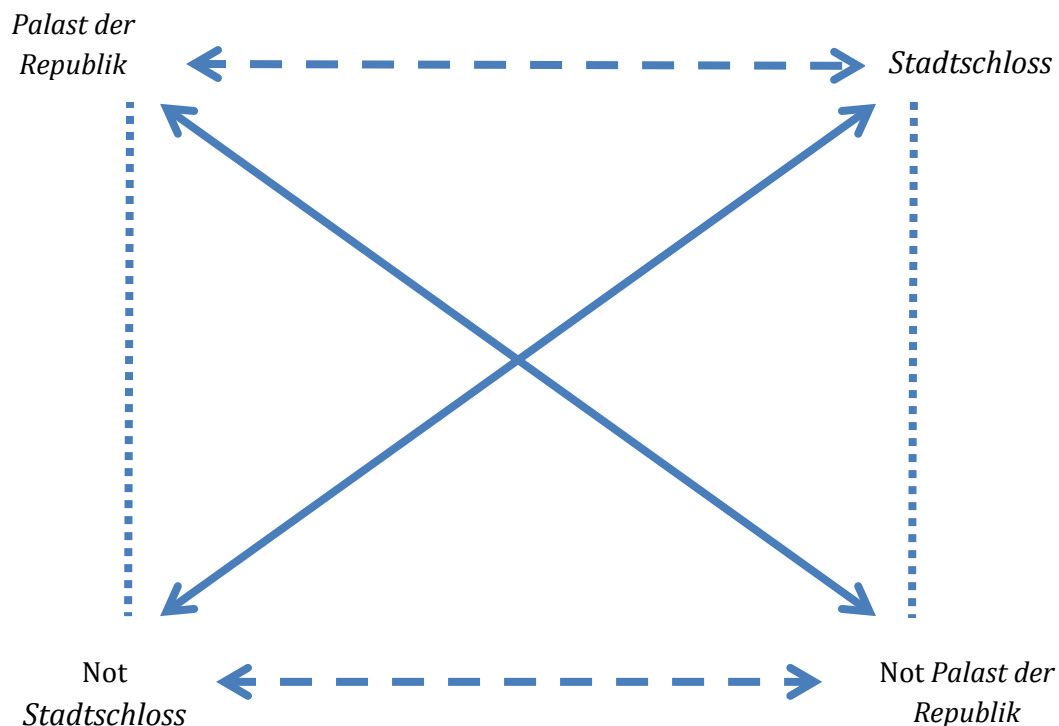


Figure 17. Greimas' semiotic square for the *Palast der Republik*/*Stadtschloss* debate. Dashed arrows show the relation between contraries, solid lines show the relation between contradictories and dotted lines show the relation of implication. Adapted from (Chandler, 2007, p. 107)

When we refer back to Tim Birkholz' exhaustive work on the construction and demolition of the *Palast der Republik* and the various building competitions regarding the development of the Spree Island (Birkholz, 2008), it becomes clear that the full range of paradigmatic options explicated above were never considered. The competition for the Spree Island allowed for neither a repurposing of the *Palast der Republik*, nor even the inclusion of a *piece* of it in a new design. This is especially informative for the creation of a new spatial discourse and national narrative in the post-Wall era in Berlin.

Even without explicitly examining the orders of signification, the connotation of the *Palast der Republik* in the center of Berlin is clear. The highest parliamentary building of the fallen socialist regime, even if party business comprised less than 10% of its use, could not be allowed to occupy the heart of the new German capital.

While the reconstruction of the *Stadtschloss* is highly significant, in this project it represents just one of a great many symbolic changes in Berlin's cultural landscape, that all served to shore each other up, creating a blanket of comprehensive, self-reflexive, and self-affirming changes across spatial scales.

## 4.2 Discourse Analysis

The results of the discourse analysis are presented in article 2 in the addendum. They will be summarized briefly here.

The spaces and structures of modernism were stigmatized in both the West and the East; the temporal separation of these two waves is however one of the main sources of western critique of the eastern built landscape.

After the Second World War, housing shortages were a widespread problem in Europe. Many urban planners saw this as a chance to rebuild the world according to the concept of Fordism and the then-prevalent ideal of the middle-class society through the construction of large-scale housing complexes; "industrialization of housing in the form of large housing estates ... was not only the central framework of the state housing policy in Eastern bloc countries, but also in Western countries, such as in Great Britain, in Scandinavian countries and particularly in France" (Hannemann, 2004, pp. 6 & 7). The housing complexes represent(ed) the social and cultural movements of Modernism and Fordism which were prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s in Western Europe. These movements were decisive both in the built space form and spatial organization.

The concept of Fordism, born out of the assembly line concept first championed by Henry Ford, when applied to urban development implies organization by function, in this case the separation of housing from industry, business, and other "non-compatible" city functions (Hannemann, 2004). Moreover, the idea of the middle class dominated post-war urban planning doctrine in both East and West; "The socio-political idea of a homogeneous "middle-class society" in the East and in the West, as it was the case after World War II, was supposed to be realized on the spatial level through uniform apartments for nuclear families" (Hannemann, 2004, p. 7).

The 1970s marked the so-called "collapse of Modernism" (Kraft, 2011, p. 49) in the global west. New perceptions of architecture stemming from two seminal works written in the US in the early 1960s, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961) and *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (Venturi, 1966), are attributed as having through their criticism begun the movement away from modernism. This sea change in American and western European urban development is widely known as the "postmodern turn". The official beginning of postmodernism in architecture and urban planning is often quoted as March 16th, 1972, the date of the first demolition of a post-war housing estate, namely Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis.

The postmodern turn brought with it a new critical devaluation of Fordist and Modernist planning measures, which were deemed monotonous, utopian, and totalitarian, and a return to and revitalization of the old inner city areas, historical reference in architecture, spatial reference of buildings to one another, and the expression of individual desires and preferences, especially in facade decoration.

The structures of modernism erected in the post-war era on both sides of the Berlin Wall represent the physical expression of the dominant modernist metanarratives such as the nuclear family (Firat & Venkatesh, 1993). A prime example of modernist ideology in the built space is modernist block housing. Erected in both the East and West in the post-war period, these housing complexes represented the ideology of equality, the nuclear family, and the middle class. In the East, these qualities were also bound up with party politics, as described in the terms of socialist modernist planning described above.

The shift away from modernist metanarratives in the 1960s in Western Europe and the US was connected to other social movements taking place at this point (women's liberation, civil rights, etc.), and represented both the loss of faith in the promises of modernism and a fundamental shift away from the arrangement of life in modernism (Firat & Venkatesh, 1993). Thus postmodernism was born; the movement found its roots in art and architecture (Firat & Venkatesh, 1993; Jacobs, 1961; Venturi, 1966).

In Western Europe and the US, the "failure" of collectivized housing was paramount to the "failure" of the modernist dream, and became a self-referential and tautological argument for the increasing development of postmodern ideologies and sociospatial segregation. In the next section and article 3, the author has shown for the case study of Berlin that the sociospatial development of the various districts was in fact not a given, but the result of very specific developmental trajectories created by various legal and political acts.

The most illustrative tool for demonstrating the disparate development of the architectural discourses on the two sides of the Berlin Wall is the timeline shown in figure 18.

Figure 18 shows the temporal offset between the construction of modernist housing complexes in East and West Germany in the postwar period, and the decline of modernism starting in the US with the publication of two significant architectural books (Jacobs, 1961; Venturi, 1966), and culminating the first demolition of a modernist housing estate in the US in 1972, five years before the construction of Berlin-Marzahn was even begun.

In Berlin, the slow decline in the construction of large-scale housing estates (the construction of which had been kicked off by the first *Wohnungsbaugesetz* or housing construction law) began around the same time that the GDR decided to put this type of housing construction into full swing (decided in 1971 at the 8<sup>th</sup> SED Party Meeting). The 1979 coining of the term "sozialer Brennpunkt" or "social hot spot" in West Germany coincided with the beginning of the IBA 1987, the first large postmodernist restructuring of a section of (West) Berlin, and just 2 years after construction on Berlin-Marzahn had been begun.

This analysis does not deny the existence of reconstructionist or postmodernist projects in the eastern half of the city. However, the wholesale abandonment of modernist building techniques, including the cost-efficient slab building style, did not happen in the GDR the way it did in the West.

## Development of the Architectural Discourse

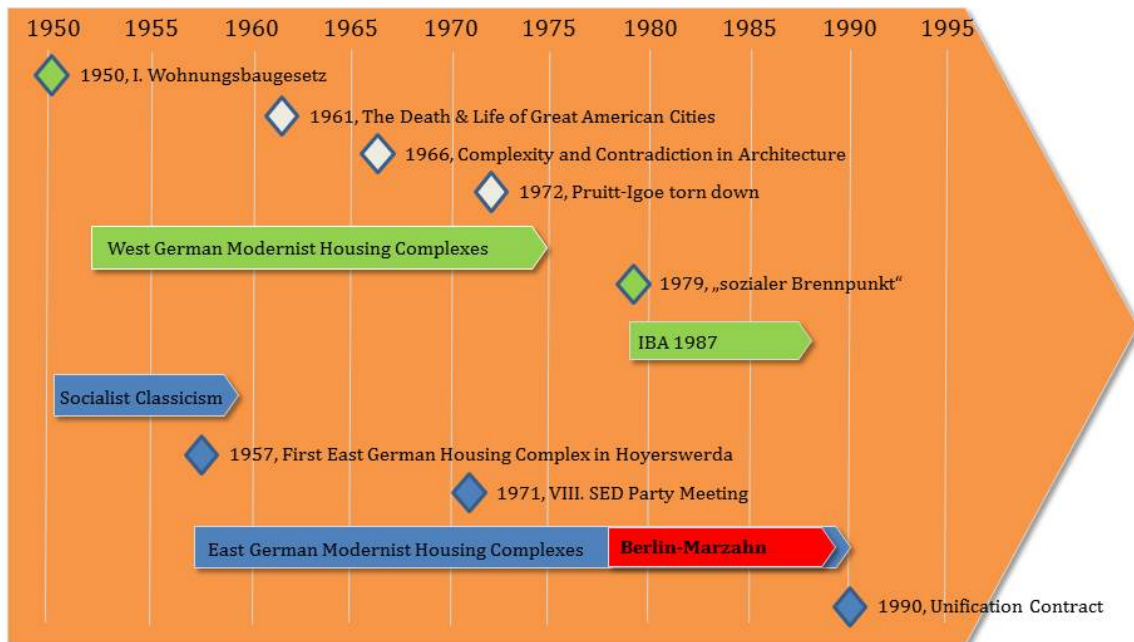


Figure 18. Development of the architectural discourse. Phenomena in the US are shown in white, in West Germany in green and in East Germany in blue. Source: Author.

These developments allowed the reframing of the built spaces of the East post-1990 in terms of the victor. The late modernist buildings in the East German landscape were considered 'backward', since they did not follow the chronological progression of their Western counterparts.

This also allowed the reframing of other structures, such as the run-down tenement housing in the inner-city (figure 19). The western slant of the inscriber is unmistakable: "the human will can overcome anything. This house once stood in another country." The presentation of the GDR as a hurdle or dictatorship to be overcome is then also literally written in the landscape of Berlin.





Figure 19. "The human will can overcome anything. This house once stood in another country." Apartment building in Brunnenstraße, Berlin-Mitte. Photo: Author.

### 4.3 Inductive Analysis and Synthesis

The results of the inductive analysis bringing together the symbolic/discursive and demographic/material changes in post-1990 East Berlin are detailed in article 3 in the addendum. This section provides more background and context for those results, and summarizes them.

Berlin's spatial embeddedness in the four spatial scales detailed in figure 20 below means that no discussion of the material and demographic changes to the city would be complete without both a discussion of post-war developments in both East and West Germany, and post-reunification developments in Berlin as compared to the rest of the former GDR and post-socialist space. The following section therefore follows this organization.

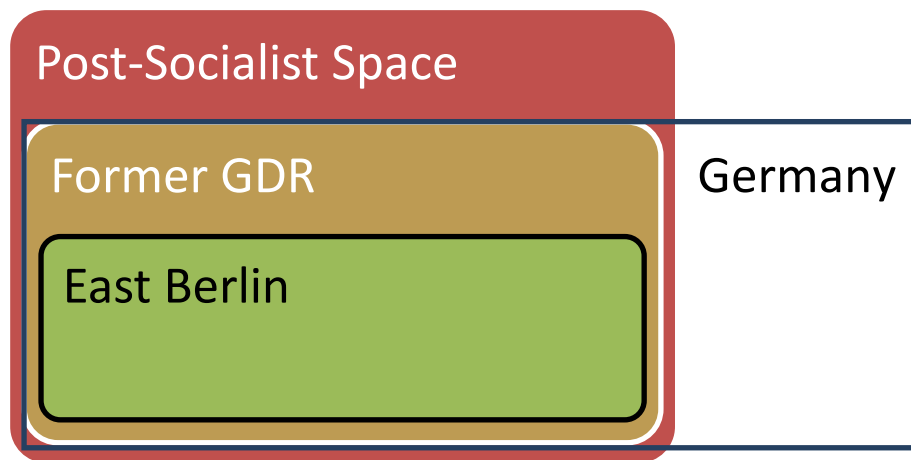


Figure 20. Berlin's spatial contexts.

#### 4.3.1 Urban Development Trends in Germany since 1949

The following section will briefly describe urban development trends in post-war West Berlin. Based on the Europe-wide trend toward post-war modernist housing complexes followed by the postmodern turn in the late 1960s both described in section 4.2 above, the author will discuss current dominant trends in housing and demographics in West Berlin as embedded in developments in West Germany<sup>7</sup>, including gentrification, reurbanization, and social segregation.

Parallel to the above-mentioned aesthetic and cultural developments, the end of the postwar economic boom in West Germany and the resultant recession ushered in an age of neoliberal political and economic development, including increasing deregulation of previously state-run institutions and significant reductions in state social funding (Kraft, 2011). The result was the growing ranks of unemployed, above all the so-called “guest workers” who had come to West Germany, in particular from Yugoslavia and Turkey, during the boom years. These groups had previously settled in the unrenovated tenement housing in the city centers, for example Kreuzberg in West Berlin (Ladd, 1997). The reversal in the cultural assessment of postwar housing complexes and inner-city industrial-era tenement housing resulted in a devaluation of

<sup>7</sup> West Germany refers here to the states of the Federal Republic of Germany as it was composed before German reunification.

the former and an upward reevaluation of the latter (Bräunert, 2010; Häußermann & Kapphan, 2004b; Häußermann & Strom, 1994). Sabine Kraft describes this admirably; “In the 70s, a change in the perception of postwar housing began in Europe that amounted to a complete semantic reversal: contemporary, modern housing in a preferred location outside the city became aggregations of apartments not fit for human habitation, dismal concrete bastions, and badly-connected, ill-equipped bedroom communities whose monofunctionality was not conducive to the requirements of everyday life” (Kraft, 2011, p. 48). The change was not only drastic, but unbelievably sudden; “In 1979, the German Association of Cities and Towns coined the term “*sozialer Brennpunkt*” (social problem area) to characterize the postwar housing complexes which were at that time either recently constructed or, in some cases, still under construction” (Kraft, 2011, p. 48). Today, postwar housing schemes throughout Western Europe are seen through the filter of present-day postmodernism. Characterized within the framework of the “failure” of Fordist urban planning and functional division in industrialized Western Europe, these complexes have come to be seen as both a societal and an urban renewal problem (Hannemann, 2004).

On the other side of the coin, inner-city areas throughout Europe are experiencing upward valuation and/or an increase in population as described through research about gentrification and reurbanization, two faces of the so-called “back-to-the-city movement” (Helbrecht, 1996; N. Smith, 1982). Both research trends describe changes to inner-city districts: the former in terms of housing prices and resident composition, and the latter in terms of a quantitative increase in residents, usually in a formerly shrinking area (though this definition and the term reurbanization are hotly disputed, as will be outlined below).

The earliest reports of a “back-to-the-city” movement date from the late 1970s and early 1980s (N. Smith, 1979, 1982, 1987). Neil Smith describes a “trickle of migrants back from the suburbs, ... which also involves the spontaneous re-emergence of the very services, recreational facilities, and employment opportunities that will encourage this trickle to expand” (N. Smith, 1982, p. 140). Indeed, this migration has expanded in volume and scope in the last 3 decades, both as reurbanization and as gentrification. *Gentrification* is defined for this dissertation as

*“the transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value. This change has the potential to cause displacement of long-time residents and businesses. Displacement happens when long-time or original neighborhood residents move from a gentrified area because of higher rents, mortgages, and property taxes. ... It often shifts a neighborhood’s characteristics (e.g., racial/ethnic composition and household income) by adding new stores and resources in previously run-down neighborhoods”* (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2001).

The term was first coined in this usage in 1963 by British sociologist Ruth Glass (Hamnett, 2000). However, the main theory of gentrification stems from the work of Neil Smith, who argues that gentrification is brought about by a so-called “rent gap” (N. Smith, 1979). The “rent gap” theory posits that “suburbanization and subsequent inner-city decline leads to the existence of devalued inner-city property on potentially valuable land which opens up the potential for profitable reinvestment” (Hamnett, 2000, p. 332). This theory assumes the possibility of gentrification in any housing market segment where potential value exceeds actual prices.



Hamnett however argues that gentrification, as opposed to being linked to a rent gap and therefore possible in any urban or rural context, is “primarily a phenomenon of the late twentieth-century postindustrial service-based city” (Hamnett, 2000, p. 334). He uses this logic to explain the presence of gentrification mainly in cities with growing financial and business service sectors, and not in those with declining industrial bases or younger, 20<sup>th</sup>-century cities (Hamnett, 2000, p. 332). Hamnett argues that gentrification occurs in areas where profitable reinvestment is possible *only* in combination with a pool of potential gentrifiers stemming from “a fundamental change in the economic base and occupational structure of cities” (Hamnett, 2000, p. 334). He argues that the emerging ‘new middle class’, who are typically made up of culturally-affine dual-career households with tertiary-sector, inner-city based jobs (N. Smith, 1987), earn significantly more than the traditional inner-city working class, and can therefore “systematically outbid” these inner-city resident groups (Hamnett, 2000, p. 336).

Research indicates that gentrifiers have a strong affinity to interact with those holding similar values and those from similar backgrounds (Hamnett, 2000). Studies have shown this tendency leading to the creation of “enclaves” of the new middle class. This “cultural and political self-selection among gentrifiers” (Hamnett, 2000, p. 336) is explored in at least one recent publication as “inner suburbanization” (Frank, 2012), thereby (at least semantically) strengthening the connection between (former) suburbanizers and current gentrifiers/reurbanizers. Positively-invoked rhetoric connecting reurbanization and the “back-to-the-city movement” are however often criticized as being inflated, generalizing and/or not based on consistent empirical evidence (Glatter & Siedhoff, 2008; Holm, 2012). Of the trends discussed here, reurbanization is by far the most recent, and the most controversial, above all because of the lack of a concrete definition for this phenomenon.

Haase et al define *reurbanization* at a city level as “the process of relative or absolute population increase in the city in comparison with its suburban zone and hinterland” and at a neighborhood level as “the stabilization of its residential function against the background of former decline” (Annegret Haase et al., 2010, p. 444). They and others argue that reurbanization represents a residential and housing choice by new residents as opposed to a return to the city by (former) suburbanites (Annegret Haase et al., 2010; Pedlow, 2011), and therefore more of a “staying in the city” or an influx of new residents than a return of former residents (Pedlow, 2011, p. 9).

The main complicating force in this research field, especially in the German context, is the lack of a clear definition of reurbanization from the outset; initial uses of the term in the 1980s were never consciously differentiated from gentrification processes (Annegret Haase et al., 2010, p. 446). Further international research used the term to describe several different phenomena, including recentralization & (re-)concentration, a return of (suburban) residents to the city, cultural revitalization, and gentrification (for a detailed overview, please see Annegret Haase et al., 2010 and/or Holm, 2012). A unified concept or definition does not exist, despite the fact that absolute or relative population increases and/or stabilizations of the residential function in formerly declining inner-city neighborhoods can be empirically proved (Buzar et al., 2007; Annegret Haase, Grossmann, & Steinführer, 2012; Annegret Haase, Herfert, Kabisch, & Steinführer, 2012; Annegret Haase, Kabisch, & Steinführer, 2005, 2006; Kabisch et al., 2010). An increase in the importance of inner-city areas, above all in postindustrial cities, can hardly be denied (Brake, 2011; Hesse, 2012; Jürgens, 2008).

One of the negative side effects of the increase in popularity of and demand for inner-city areas is the displacement of residents described in the definition of gentrification. This has led to *sociospatial segregation* in urban areas in various parts of the world. The absolute increase in spatial segregation is connected to occupational and income polarization in postindustrial societies. According to Saskia Sassen, who has published at length on the subject, social polarization is a result of economic and occupational restructuring connected to deindustrialization and the growth of the tertiary occupational sector, and “involves absolute growth of the occupational and income distribution at *both* the *top* and the *bottom* ends combined with an absolute decline in the middle” (Hamnett, 2001, p. 165)<sup>8</sup>. The distribution of these households can be linked to economic, market, and housing push- and pull-factors; housing market characteristics are the most decisive factors in this process for low-income households, and social welfare regulations define the ability to choose for welfare-recipient households (Häußermann, 2008; Holm, 2005, 2008). In short, an increase in social polarization (income and occupational distribution) in combination with housing market polarization (due to an absolute increase in demand for inner-city housing and/or rising rent prices) form a combined motor for sociospatial segregation; these tendencies are most readily apparent in postindustrial cities (Hamnett, 1994, 2000, 2001). In Germany, recent welfare reforms (colloquially called *Hartz-IV*) have removed the link between wage rates and housing benefits, instead setting an absolute limit on the coverage of rental payments based on household size (Holm, 2011b). In the case that the rental cost burden rises above the set limit for cost defrayment, the household has 6 months to “reduce their rental cost burden” (Holm, 2011b). Renegotiations of rental contracts are rare; reduction in this sense translates in almost all cases to moving to a less expensive apartment and the further sociospatial segregation of German cities.

To summarize: widespread deindustrialization throughout Western Europe has ushered in the age of postindustrial development and the rise of the information-based society (D. Bell, 1973). Many postindustrial regions are experiencing unequal demographic development which can be broadly characterized by qualitative and quantitative changes to inner-city districts. These flows lead to an increase in demand for inner-city real estate, and increasing prices for inner-city housing. In combination with liberalization of welfare law (for example in Germany, following Holm, 2008) and social polarization (following Hamnett, 1994, 2000, 2001), this is leading to a sorting out of the population in the city itself – the financially well-off and socially privileged can, through their economic capital, enjoy the new “renaissance of the inner cities”, while the increasingly disenfranchised poor and lower middle class are relegated to the urban, social, and value-system periphery. This *social* periphery is often made up of the peripherally-located modernist post-war housing complexes that have fallen out of favor since the postmodern turn and the “back-to-the-city movement” of the 1970s.

#### 4.3.2 Urban Development Trends in Eastern Europe since 1989

Urban development in Eastern Europe since the fall of the Iron Curtain has followed various path-dependent trajectories based on existing landscape characteristics and global urban development trends. Berlin’s location straddling the Cold-War-era divide between East and

---

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed look at social polarization, please see Hamnett, 1994, 2001 and O’Loughlin & Friedrichs, 1996

West behooves a brief discussion of post-socialist urban development in order to provide context for the discussion of East Berlin.

Eastern European cities, most recently shaped by four decades of socialist rule, have followed a different development path than their western counterparts. Michael Harloe summarizes this situation aptly;

*“the cities of capitalism and socialism both shape and are shaped by their respective forms of economic organization, class formation and political structures. The socio-spatial organization of cities, their politics and administration, their housing and property markets, their patterns of social interaction are directly linked to the major features of the socialist and capitalist orders.”* (Harloe, 1996, p. 2)

Current research about post-socialist cities often concentrates on the concept of path-dependence or, as Putnam puts it “where you get to depends on where you’re coming from” (quoted in Harloe, 1996, p. 5). Despite “considerable cross-national variations” (Sailer-Fliege, 1999, p. 7) in both development under socialist rule and post-socialist development, several unifying development trends can be identified.

Urban development under socialism had several general characteristics based on ideological and material frameworks, as examined in detail by Ulrike Sailer-Fliege (1999, p. 9). The changes in the period after 1989 can be characterized as the “complex interaction of inherited urban structures, market economy ideologies, new state institutional parameters and the general processes of transformation in the economy, politics and society” (Sailer-Fliege, 1999, p. 11).

Rapid privatization of previously communal and state-owned assets, properties and industry was, next to the shift to a market economy, one of the main transitional forces in post-socialist cities. Privatization, as opposed to simulating Western models of asset distribution, often served to exaggerate existing power structures from socialist times, as examined in depth in Andrusz, Harloe, & Szelenyi (1996, esp. chapters 1 & 5). This led to increased social polarization throughout the 1990s, and resultant social segregation as profit-oriented housing markets began to develop (Struyk, 1996).

Evidence of social polarization in post-socialist countries is made more apparent through comparison with the egalitarian socialist society model. Increasing differences in income levels, and especially an increase in the highest and lowest segments with an absolute decrease in the middle, have been observed throughout Eastern and Eastern Central Europe in several post-socialist countries, including Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Estonia (Kulu, 2003; Weclawowicz, 1998). These changes affect above all the elderly, former state employees and unskilled and semiskilled workers (Sailer-Fliege, 1999, p. 11). In addition, Heyns reports that, while inequality has increased in Eastern Europe, the rate of change, amount, and reasons for the changes vary among the countries studied (Heyns, 2005).

This has led to new patterns of resident distribution similar to those found in the western world at the same time. Recent research indicates that social polarization combined with changing rent prices is leading to sociospatial segregation in post-socialist cities (Kovács, 1998; Kulu, 2003). Historical inner city areas, long neglected while awaiting eventual demolition and urban restructuring, have either experienced continuing decay or renovation and gentrification (Kovács, 1998; Sailer-Fliege, 1999). In the socialist housing estates, households that have achieved economic independence and stability are increasingly choosing different housing

options, predominantly single-family houses in the suburbs (Sailer-Fliege, 1999, p. 14). Current *suburbanization* (defined for this dissertation as “a process of residential decentralization, driven primarily by upper- and middle-class households looking for a higher quality of life in the urban periphery” (Hirt, 2007, p. 756)) appears even more intense against the backdrop of the formerly compact and centralized socialist city (Hirt, 2007; Sailer-Fliege, 1999). However, even with the assumption that a large portions of the population will enjoy increased material comfort, continuing housing shortages mean that high rise housing estates will play an important role in housing concerns, above all in larger cities, at least in the medium term (Sailer-Fliege, 1999, p. 15). Selective socio-economic mobility and sociospatial segregation connected to gentrification processes are present only in limited contexts, most notably in Hungary (Kovács, 1998; Sailer-Fliege, 1999).

#### 4.3.3 East Germany-Specific Development Trends since 1989

The states of the former GDR have experienced various changes similar to those found in other post-socialist countries. It was above all the work of Hartmut Häußermann that first addressed this connection (Häußermann, 1996a, 1996b, 1998). However, the former GDR's unique situation as an acceded portion of a western country has led to other, locationally-specific phenomena. In addition to gentrification and social segregation, which are present in other post-socialist spatial contexts, and reurbanization, which has been discussed in the previous sections, East Germany experienced an extreme period of demographic shrinkage in the 1990s that led to the implementation of the program *Stadtumbau Ost* (Urban Redevelopment East). The author will briefly discuss the legal and economic framework of reunification below and then outline the resulting housing and demographic results.

The *Einigungsvertrag* (unification contract) (EinigVtr, 1990) set the legal framework for the accession of the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the privatization of the communal property of the GDR, and also determined the conceptual direction for the development of the new German states. Paragraph 28 of the unification contract discusses economic promotion (*Wirtschaftsförderung*), and outlines several goals, including “the development of a balanced economic structure as fast as possible with special consideration for the middle class” and “measures to speed up economic growth and structural transition in the new states” (EinigVtr, 1990, §28). These goals are similar to those in other post-socialist countries at the time (Andrusz et al., 1996).

In Germany, 40 years of separate development created a critical economic gradient between the states of the FRG and the GDR. The construction of the Berlin Wall, which began in August of 1961, was in part a reaction to the side effects created by the differential development of the two Germanys. According to official numbers, between 1949 and 1961, the population of the GDR sank by from 18.3 million to 17 million (*Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR*, 1989), a loss of 7% of the population within just 12 years. Other sources indicate that this number may be too low, suggesting that up to one quarter of the population emigrated before the Berlin Wall was finished in 1961 (Laar, 2010). The emigration was not equal across all professional and age groups, but rather was preferentially made up of young, highly-skilled and highly-educated citizens, a phenomenon aptly termed “Brain Drain” (Dellenbaugh & Haase, 2014; Andrea Haase, 2003).

The solidification of the border through the construction of the Berlin Wall and the inner-German border stopped the initial loss of skilled workers and young families, though birth rates remained very low. On the side of the FRG, the post-war economic boom continued well into the 1970s, including the establishment of industrial centers throughout West Germany.

This means that the "new German states", as the states of the former GDR are called in German, were disadvantaged in two regards in 1990: fewer skilled workers and no established industrial centers<sup>9</sup>. East German industry had of course been part of the state-run planned economy of the GDR, and had therefore not been exposed to market-based competition. The quality of the infrastructure was poor, and the machines and facilities were often outdated (Jarausch, 2010; von der Heyden, 1995). Many companies could neither be privatized nor rehabilitated to market standards and had to be liquidated (von der Heyden, 1995). The collapse of the socialist industrial complex, most often attributed to the privatization and streamlining efforts of the *Treuhandanstalt*, the trust company charged with the privatization of the state property of the GDR between 1989 and 1994, left unemployment rates as high as 55% (von der Heyden, 1995, p. 46). Thus, one of the biggest push-factors for the East German population after reunification was the search for employment.

This also had significant effects on the landscape. The socialist industrial complexes consisted not only of factories and warehouses, but also of corollary structures for worker benefits such as vacation settlements, kindergartens, worker housing, and administrative buildings, nearly all of which were state-owned. These facilities could only be privatized to a certain degree; many stand empty today. In light of population loss, lack of demand, lack of industry, and lack of funding, these buildings were only able to be repurposed to a limited extent, if at all. These derelict properties added to an already problematic real estate situation.

The main complicating factor of the East German real estate market directly after reunification was the *Vermögensgesetz* (property restitution law) of 1990 (VermG, §1, in particular Abs. 1 & 6), which provided for the restitution of property seized by the national socialists (NS) and/or the GDR. The property restitution law was intended to both increase the amount of individual property in East Germany (and thus support the development of the middle class) and undo wrongs brought about by the NS and GDR regimes. The main problem in this case was the fact that restitution covered a time span of over 60 years, during which several legitimate owners may have owned the building. Disputes over restitution rights dominated the early 90s in East Germany and confounded the renovation or adaptation of these properties, since no steps could be taken until the legitimate owners were found or determined (Reimann, 1997). In the case of Jewish properties seized by the Nazis, the original owners were in most cases no longer alive, and the property was then restituted to the heirs who were often widely strewn, complicating matters even further (Goschler & Lillteicher, 2002). So, in addition to the vacant state-owned industrial properties, many houses stood empty and could not be renovated due to owner disputes.

In addition, the complicated ownership questions raised by restitution hindered the expeditious achievement of the overarching goals set out in paragraph 28 of the unification contract, in particular through delays in both the renovation of historic housing and the implementation of speedy economic development and restructuring. For this reason, several national laws were

---

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed description of the various single elements discussed here, please see Bahrmann & Links, 2005.

put into place in the early 90s to better increase property levels, solve the housing shortage, and stimulate the economy (Ziegler, 2005).

The first of these was the *Investitionsvorrangsgesetz* (investment priority law) (InVorG, 1992). Implemented in 1992, this law provided a solution for property questions created by restitution, and aided in the acceleration of economic growth and structural transition in the new states, as set out in the unification contract. The investment priority law delivered a way around the bottleneck by allowing economic development of buildings and lots still pending restitution as long as the plans provided housing, jobs, and/or infrastructural development (Maurer, Sander, & Schmidt, 1991; von der Heyden, 1995); monetary remuneration was then provided to the owners once the legal details surrounding ownership had been cleared. This significantly expedited development, though many of the promised jobs never appeared or were lost in the 1993 global recession (Schulz, 2000).

The second significant legal impulse of this time period was the *Fördergebietsgesetz* (development area law) (FöGbG, 1993). Implemented in September 1993, the law provided a tax alleviation of up to 50% through the construction of new housing in the new states and was intended to both solve the housing shortage and stimulate the economy, most of all in the construction sector. The law was neither spatially restricted nor was connected to areas where housing shortages were a problem; building was lucrative even in areas where there were no housing shortages, leading in some cases to a growing housing supply in already flooded markets. In addition, the law was extremely “successful”; many people took advantage of it, leading to a housing overhang in some areas (Dohse, Krieger-Boden, Sander, & Soltwedel, 2002).

The third law implemented during this time was the *Altschuldenhilfegesetz* (old debt aid law) (AltSchG, 1993), which was intended to reduce the debt of the communal housing associations through privatization of their housing stock to renters, thereby increasing the overall levels of property ownership in the new states but also providing the housing associations with funds with which to renovate their stock (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1993). The publicly-held housing associations of the former GDR were officially transferred with their remaining debt loads to their respective communities through the provision of the unification contract; the debt loads consisted of the loans taken out by the GDR for construction of the complexes. In mid-1990s, when the Deutschmark (DM) officially became the currency of the former GDR, the debt attributed to the housing associations totaled 37 billion DM (Sander, 1994, p. 2). In addition, the housing complexes were in most cases in need of renovation at the time of reunification.

The old debt aid law provided for the capping of the assumed debts at 150 DM per square meter as long as the housing associations achieved the required rate of privatization. The law required at least 15% privatization by 1993, and intended a 50% privatization of communal housing stock (most of which were located in the high-rise housing estates of the post-war period) before the end of the 1999 calendar year in order to guarantee debt capping (AltSchG, 1993 § 5). These privatization efforts were largely unsuccessful for a variety of reasons, as will be discussed in detail below.

Parallel to these developments, a wave of suburbanization similar to but more intense than in other post-socialist contexts took place in the former GDR that also added to the spatial and demographic dynamic of the time. This trend has been reported above all for Leipzig in Saxony (Couch, Karecha, Nuissl, & Rink, 2005; Nuissl & Rink, 2003, 2005a, 2005b), Magdeburg, Halle &

Dessau in Saxony-Anhalt (Andrea Haase, 2003), and generally discussed in at least one anthology (Moser & Breuste, 2000). Suburbanization in the new states has become “a central element of current spatial development” (Moser & Breuste, 2000, p. 4), which, similar to other areas of post-socialist transformation, is positioned in stark contrast to the compact and centralized socialist city design. Suburbanization in the former GDR was buoyed through the development area law, as the readily available areas for building sites were often located on the former state-owned farms surrounding cities.

The delays created by restitution and the continuing dearth of appropriate housing choices in the city created a significant push factor, and the creation of new housing in the neighboring hinterland a significant pull factor, that in combination led to a wave of suburbanization that further drained larger and mid-sized cities of residents.

One of the main problems with the variety of measures taken on a national level during this time is that they were based on assumptions that the new states would grow demographically and economically as a result of reunification. Expectations of a “second economic miracle” were common (von der Heyden, 1995). The economic and demographic reality was of course very different from expectations. The fundamental economic changes that went along with reunification were catastrophic for the new states. Economic logic under socialism does not favor the accumulation of capital, for example in the form of savings, as it does in capitalism. Hence, the East German citizens were wholly at a disadvantage in comparison to their West German counterparts, who had benefited from the post-war economic boom and the economic logic of a fundamentally different economic system (Jarausch, 2010). The economic differential mentioned above meant that the change from the East German Mark (*Ostmark*) to the DM nearly halved the already meager earnings and savings of the East German public. To this day, wages, but also living costs, are much lower in the new states (Abraham & Houseman, 1995; “Despite Progress, Former East Germany Still Lags Behind,” 2009; Fuchs-Schündeln, Krüger, & Sommer, 2009).

To summarize: restitution of seized property caused a bottleneck in the renovation and further development of inner-cities left to decay during the GDR’s rule. Rampant new construction independent of demand created enticing new housing options, above all in new suburbs around large and mid-sized cities in the East, for residents often living in suboptimal housing situations (Schulz, 2010). At the same time, the newly privatized housing associations were faced with the Sisyphean task of simultaneously reducing their debt through sale of individual units and renovating the complexes. All this combined with high unemployment rates and resultant emigration led to widespread housing overhangs in the new states and significant vacancy rates (Böttger, 2007; Glock & Häußermann, 2004; Haller & Liebmann, 2002; Lang, 2003; Schiffers, 2009).

A commission formed in February 2000 by the federal minister for traffic, building, and housing, the state minister of the chancellery, and the federal commissary for affairs of the new German states to assess the problem of vacant apartments in the new states declared in their report in November 2000 that, 10 years after reunification, approximately 1 million apartments, or around 13% of the housing stock in East Germany, stood empty (Pfeiffer, Simons, & Porsch, 2000). The commission suggested the reduction of housing stock by 300,000 to 400,000 units over the course of 10 years in order to stabilize the housing market. In 2002, the joint federal-state program *Stadtumbau Ost* (Urban Redevelopment East) was officially begun. In order to be able to take part in the program, towns had to have an integrated urban planning concept

(*Integrierten Stadtentwicklungskonzept - ISEK*). Thus the program, which ran from 2002 to 2009, did not just intend for the removal of housing stock, but an integrated plan for the long term betterment and stabilization of the area through holistic planning measures (Bürkner, Kuder, & Kühn, 2005; Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung, 2004; Kühn & Liebmann, 2009).

*Stadtumbau Ost* was a historically significant case; it was the first time in Germany that housing stock was demolished without replacement (Hunger, 2003; Liebe, 2001; Liebmann, 2009; Schiffers, 2009). The removal of housing units concentrated above all on the newest housing stock, the socialist post-war housing estates on the outskirts of the cities, which, through their peripheral location, allowed a convenient reduction of urban volume and area, and often had high vacancy rates (Bernt & Kabisch, 2006; Rietdorf, Liebmann, & Haller, 2001). The housing associations also doubly profited from the demolitions, as debt accrued on demolished buildings was waived and these buildings also did not need to be renovated (Sander, 1994). Criticism of the program made accusations about social steering through the selective removal of large-scale housing estates (Treutler, 2008), but also that the program didn't address the underlying reasons behind shrinkage (Kil, 2004).

In recent years, large and mid-sized cities in East Germany have begun to show empirical evidence of gentrification, reurbanization, and sociospatial segregation. This is set against the backdrop of an increasingly ageing and demographically shrinking rural matrix (Jenkis, 2007; Kröhnert & Skipper, 2010). Again, these trends are predominantly located in large to mid-sized urban centers, with the primary examples outside of Berlin being gentrification in Dresden (Dammköhler, 2011; Glatzer, 2007) and reurbanization in Leipzig (Annegret Haase et al., 2005; Köppen, Mai, & Schlömer, 2007; Steinführer, Haase, & Kabisch, 2009). Recent changes to welfare law in Germany in combination with changes in the real estate market have meant that sociospatial segregation accompanies the social polarization found in the new states (Holm, 2008; Huster, 1997; Klute & Kotlenga, 2008). Suburbanization and urban sprawl continue around the larger cities (e.g. Nuissl & Rink, 2003, 2005b).

#### **4.3.4 Material Development Trends in Berlin since 1989**

Demographic and housing-related changes in Berlin fall into several broad categories that represent the locally-specific expression of the trends outlined in the previous sections. Directly after reunification, restitution, the development area law, urban redevelopment (*Sanierung*), and suburbanization were the main factors guiding change. In later years, gentrification and social segregation became the driving forces in demographic development. Reurbanization has not played a significant role in Berlin's development, primarily due to continuing housing shortages and resultant tension in the housing market.

Berlin was a major center of Jewish culture up until the 1930s. Brian Ladd reports that, while Jews made up only 4% of the city's population in the 1920s, this number (170,000 people) represented a third of all Jews in Germany at the time (Ladd, 1997, p. 113). Many of these residents were well-off members of the middle class and owned property which was later seized by the National Socialists (Goschler & Lillteicher, 2002). The effects of the *Vermögensgesetz* (property restitution law) (VermG, 1990) were therefore felt very acutely in Berlin, where both the development pressure and the number of properties with restitution claims were the highest. The implementation of the *Investitionsvorrangsgesetz* (investment



priority law) (InVorG, 1992) eased some of the problems created by the restitution bottleneck, but also allowed rapid and sometimes overly hasty development without due consideration of demand or sustainability. Many of the projects of that era were short-lived or changed hands rapidly and/or repeatedly. Restitution unfortunately hindered the alleviation of the housing crisis and created a significant barrier to achieving the overarching goals of privatization, increasing property ownership, solving the housing crisis and economic stimulation set out in the unification contract (*Einigungsvertrag*) (EinigVtr, 1990).

The housing market was characterized at this time by a very high dynamic (Düsterwald, Quadde, Utermark, Vogenauer, & Schulz, 1994; Schulz, 1997, 2000), typified above all through interlinked processes of suburbanization, migration, and urban redevelopment (*Sanierung*).

Both sides of Berlin had experienced little or no postwar suburbanization because of the city's historical situation; West Berlin had been surrounded by the GDR and therefore had no backland, and East Berlin's development had been predetermined by the state (Schulz, 2000). Surrounding land in Brandenburg used for communal farming (LPG - *Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaft*) during the city's division could be rapidly designated as building land. This, combined with the significant tax provisions of the *Fördergebietsgesetz* (development area law) (FöGbG, 1993) and the continuing housing shortage in the city, led to a substantial wave of suburbanization (Düsterwald et al., 1994; Hinrichs, 1999; Schulz, 2000).

Meanwhile, on a local administrative level, several *Sanierungsgebiete* (urban renovation areas) were established to restore derelict buildings in the eastern half of the inner city (Häußermann, Holm, & Zunzer, 1999). Due to the housing and building policy of the GDR, which had concentrated above all in the latter years on new construction in satellite housing complexes, the inner-city districts were in an advanced state of disrepair, a pattern that can be seen in many post-socialist cities. Based on this fact, the city-wide urban redevelopment areas of the early 1990s were primarily established in the eastern part of the city.

One of the main problems with the variety of measures during this time, above all those taken on a national level, is that they were based on assumptions that Berlin would grow demographically and economically as a result of reunification and the return of the German capital from Bonn. As in the rest of the former GDR, expectations of a "second economic miracle" were common (von der Heyden, 1995). As discussed for the former GDR, the economic and demographic reality was very different from expectations. The work of the *Treuhandanstalt* and its consequences created significant push factors for large parts of the population. In Berlin, the situation was not nearly as dire as in rural areas and in the rest of the new states and overall shrinkage remained minimal. Berlin's population grew in the early 90s, for the most part due to a strong wave of in-migration. Birth rates dropped during the same time, a phenomenon known as the "*Geburtenknick*" (birth rate slump) (Dellenbaugh, n.d.; Schulz, 2000).

Starting in the mid-90s, Berlin experienced a strong wave of out-migration, leading to a negative migration balance through the second half of the decade, due in a large part to the aforementioned suburbanization wave to outlying areas in Brandenburg (Dellenbaugh, n.d.). The delays created by restitution and the ongoing shortage of fitting housing choices in the city created a significant push factor, and the construction of new housing in the neighboring hinterland a salient pull factor that in combination led to a substantial wave of suburbanization.

The real estate market remained relaxed throughout the 1990s, however positive population development since 2000, inner-city gentrification, and the 2005 change in federal welfare law

have created a “segregation motor” (Holm, 2011b), characterized by a range of push and pull factors that disproportionately affect low-earning and welfare-recipient households.

The urban redevelopment areas in the eastern inner-city districts were structurally a great success. Industrial-era buildings in districts such as Prenzlauer Berg, Friedrichshain, and Mitte, a large percentage of which at the time of reunification had neither modern heating nor a bathroom in the apartment, were modernized (Düsterwald et al., 1994; Häußermann et al., 1999); the historic city structure and historical buildings were to a large extent preserved in these efforts. The social effects of urban redevelopment were less positive. The social intension of redevelopment was to preserve the heterogeneous resident structure, including as many original residents as possible. Indeed, in the majority of cases, the original residents did not return after renovation and modernization was complete (Bernt & Holm, 2002; Holm, 2006a, 2006b, 2010). The main effect of modernization and the widespread overturn of the resident base was therefore an extremely rapid gentrification which has quickly spread beyond the urban redevelopment areas themselves (Holm, 2011a).

The principal side effect of modernization, rising rental prices for renovated housing, combined with the welfare reforms of 2005 (*Hartz-IV*) have increased the speed of gentrification and sociospatial segregation, in particular through the displacement of low-earner and welfare-recipient households. In-migration since 2005 has compounded the problem by increasing demand and competition for an already scarce supply of rental objects (Holm, 2008). The increase in demand plus high dynamism in the rental market, above all in the inner city, have continuously driven the prices for new rental contracts to new highs (Holm, 2012). This has, in turn, led to the displacement of welfare-recipient households as rental prices rise above the mandated rental cost supplement (Holm, 2008, 2011b).

Recent media coverage has reported about these so-called “forced moves” (*Zwangsumzüge*) (e. g. Anker, 2008; “Anzahl der Zwangsumzüge in Berlin offenbar kleingerechnet,” 2012, “Immer mehr Zwangsumzüge,” 2012, “Zahl der Zwangsumzüge in Berlin gestiegen,” 2012; Beyerlein, 2012; Fahrur, 2011; Gorny, 2011; Kneist & Willnow, 2012; Rietz, 2011). The displacement effects are dispersed, but must orient themselves on the changing contours of the Berlin housing market. At the beginning of the 2000s, the displacement of low-earning and welfare-recipient households did not have a direct, immediate, or traceable effect on the large-scale housing estates, as the real estate market was still relatively relaxed and homogenous. As the housing market began to heat up in the middle of the decade and become more heterogeneous, empirical research began to show the direct displacement of low-earning and welfare households from the inner city districts into the postwar housing estates (Holm, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2011b).

In Berlin’s meanwhile tense real estate market, only certain segments are still “*Hartz-IV* compatible”, either low-quality housing in the inner city (a segment that is rapidly dwindling) or housing on the outskirts of the city; in the eastern half of the city, this means unrenovated or low quality inner-city housing or the postwar satellite housing complexes. The fragmentation of Berlin once postulated and researched by Hartmut Häußermann and Andreas Kapphan (Häußermann & Kapphan, 1999, 2002, 2004a, 2004b; Häußermann, Kronauer, & Siebel, 2004; Häußermann, 2008; Kapphan, 2002) can therefore be expected to further intensify if measures are not taken to curb it.

# 5

## Discussion & Conclusion

The changes effected in East Berlin in the years after German reunification were significant, wide-ranging, and comprehensive, fundamentally changing all four parts of the syntagm proposed in figure 9. These changes have profoundly affected (and continue to affect) the development trajectory of the eastern half of the city, as demonstrated in the results.

### 5.1 Revisiting the Hypotheses

#### **H1: Semiotics is an effective analytical method for the analysis of cultural landscapes.**

Yes, the analytical structures used in this project effectively and consistently created a clear structural empirical framework. It should naturally be noted that the analysis described here is based on structuralist theories and phenomenologies, which emerge necessarily from the structuralist nature of semiotics. The author acknowledges that this may not satisfy critics of structuralism, or account for all possible analyses of spatial culture, however for those proponents of structuralism, semiotics presents an excellent entry point for the operationalization and study of cultural landscapes.

#### **H2: The symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 was dominated by a western cultural mythos which pervaded the symbolic capital and architectural style of the new/old capital city.**

Yes, this was due to two main causes. First, the creation of the discourse and the control over the shaping of the cultural landscape was in the hands of a selected number of actors who were west-socialized (Hans Stimmann, Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, Wolfgang Nagel, etc.). This is shown in detail in article 2 of this dissertation (Dellenbaugh, 2014a especially p. 232). Secondly, the shifting of the German capital back to Berlin under a conservative CDU/SPD coalition meant that a conservative, nostalgic and West-dominant cultural mythos prevailed, despite local administrative resistance on the part of the districts and the city itself (De Soto, 1996). This is shown in detail in article 1 of this dissertation (Dellenbaugh, 2013).

#### **H3: The changes to the symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 reflected a very specific and narrow pre-WWI historical narrative.**

Seen separately, the various changes to the urban landscape such as street name modifications and a new architectural style seem arbitrary; seen together, they form a coherent picture, stemming in the majority from the period of Berlin's heyday before the beginning of World War I. The main explanation posited in this dissertation for this phenomenon is the extreme complication of modern German history. Such symbolic and cultural appropriations of space rely on a historical narrative as their basis; indeed, their purpose is to normalize the legitimacy of the

dominant group through the establishment of historical continuity with a great and illustrious past. This situation is particularly complicated in Germany, where the willful omission of 80 years' history clearly indicates the still-conflicted relationship with the Second World War and its results (i.e. German division). As described in detail in section 2.3 of this work, dealing with the guilt of the Second World War was facilitated by Germany's division; depending on which side of the Wall one was located on, the totalitarian or fascist attributes could be ascribed to the other half. The removal of the Wall created the need to unify not only the country, but also its national discourse, a task that was only completed, following the empirical results of this project, by a) reaching back further into the past for a legitimizing narrative and b) demonizing the symbols of the fallen GDR. Part b of this result lends further support to the conclusions derived in H2; the Cold War demonizing of both "other Germanys" based on the historical developments mentioned above had significant results for the symbolic capital of the fallen socialist regime in Berlin, again confirming that the Western discourse was indeed dominant in the post-Wall city.

#### **H4: This discursive transference had tangible material effects on the material and demographic development of the Eastern districts.**

This is true, in part, but actually represents an oversimplification of district development. The radical change in urban planning goals in the city was inevitably linked to administrative restructuring as part of reunification and the West-socialization and postmodern viewpoint of the actors in charge. These brought with them not only a new valuation of urban built space types, but also the ability to effect changes in the city. The urban renewal areas (*Sanierungsgebiete*) in the eastern half of the city or the attempt to privatize the socialist housing estates are examples of this on both city and national levels. The demographic and legal situation was however much more complicated than that and the material effects experienced in the districts in question cannot be reduced to the simple result of discursive changes; the author has shown this in section 4.3 and article 3 (Dellenbaugh, n.d.).

More important than the role of the discourse in the material changes to the district is the supportive function that the demographic and material changes have on the dominant discourse. The overall success of inner-city regeneration projects, the current growth of the city after years of stagnation, and the concentration of low-income and underprivileged households in the peripheral housing estates materially support the main actors' discursive stance. Simply put: the "self-fulfilling prophesy" nature of the urban development in the eastern half of the city seems natural and common-sense today. However, the author argues (and has shown in article 3), that these development trajectories were anything but logical in 1990; the dominant narrative at work here is thus not common sense but hegemonic power (Forgacs, 2000), naturalizing the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the expertocracy in the landscape.

#### **H5: The stigmatization of Berlin-Marzahn directly after German reunification was primarily due to this discursive transference.**

Yes, the stigmatization of the post-war housing estates of the former GDR, and, in particular in this dissertation, Berlin-Marzahn, directly after German reunification can be attributed to a discursive transference connected to the actors in charge of urban planning and its attendant discourses (i.e. planners, but also experts and the media). This was shown in article 2 of this project (Dellenbaugh, 2014a). Later developments served to shape and solidify specific discursive elements such as right wing radicalism, poverty, and Eastern European immigrants (Brailich et al., 2008; Brailich, Germes, Schirmel, Pütz, & Glasze, 2010), but these attributes represent the result of concrete changes whose representation in the media and in crime and

demographic statistics can be empirically supported. The immediate stigmatization of Berlin-Marzahn in the media, before criminal or demographic changes took place, was therefore solely the result of a discursive transference, above all through the media.

## 5.2 Theoretical Implications – Returning to Grounded Theory

The use of the grounded theory method implies the development of a theory from data. Above and beyond the hypotheses detailed above, this project established that *the narrative of the dominant power, be it economic, political, or colonial, can be “read” by examining the symbols embedded in the cultural landscape*. In our ever more urbanized world, these meaning-laden cultural landscapes are increasingly located in cities. Semiotics and discourse analysis present themselves as fitting tools to examine these phenomena.

## 5.3 Possibilities for Further Research

This project established a theory based on an N of 1. To test the robustness of this theory, more fieldwork and data are needed. Two possibilities for further research present themselves:

### The Economization of the Urban Landscape

Globalization has had wide-reaching effects on the urban landscape, creating both hyper-staged spaces of national presentation and homogenized spaces of transit and commerce (i. e. Augé, 2008). Additionally, the powers of international commerce significantly mark our urban landscape in highly significant ways; outdoor advertisement, new building projects and other forms of symbolic representation may indicate the new dominance of business and neoliberal narratives in selected urban environments. The degree of globalization, the packaged presentation of urban identity, and the dominance of neoliberal narratives in urban space all represent fitting spheres for the further testing and refining of the theory developed in this project.

### Symbolic Changes to Post-Socialist Space

In the post-socialist context, questions of image and symbolism deal mainly with the socialist past, and extend primarily to place names and monuments. These changes have been discussed throughout the landscape of post-socialist Eastern Europe (J. Bell, 1999; Dmitrieva & Kliems, 2010; Ferenčuhová, 2009; Foote, Toth, & Arvay, 2000; Galasiński & Skowronek, 2001; Gill, 2005; Light, Nicolae, & Suditu, 2002; Palonen, 2008; D. A. Weber, 2009; Young & Kaczmarek, 2008). While significant national variations exist, several general trends can be identified.

Commemoration, above all through place and street names, was an important symbolic tool to establish the legitimacy of communism and socialism, in particular in capital cities (Light et al., 2002). Socialist and communist spatial organization was highly hierarchical and centralist, therefore the capital cities were the most significant spaces; “given the importance of capital cities as centres of state power and national unity, particular attention is paid to ‘marking’ or ‘signifying’ urban space in the capital in order to saturate it with particular values or meanings” (Light et al., 2002, p. 135). The de-socialization of these landscapes concentrated therefore primarily on renaming and decommemoration; new commemorations, such as those for executed political prisoners in Hungary have served to anchor the new historiography spatially (Foote et al., 2000, p. 303). These changes have been critically discussed, above all in the context

of heritage (construction) (Kinossian, 2008, 2009, 2012) and heritage tourism (Light, 2000), both of which represent the presentation of a national and/or ethnic (self-)understanding.

Thus, a second thinkable extension of the testing and refining of this theory would be in other post-socialist contexts; specifically, a comparative study of other capital cities with Berlin would be advantageous.

## 5.4 Conclusion & Outlook

Two questions remain at the end of the day: *What can we learn from Berlin as a case study?* and *How can we position the knowledge gleaned in this research?*

Berlin as a case study tells us volumes about the national narrative in post-reunification Germany. The symbolic restructuring of Berlin's landscape reflects the deep West-orientation of those who were in power at the time. The symbolism in post-reunification Berlin, in street names, urban planning & architecture, can be characterized as conservative and nostalgic. The fabrication of a new tradition cannot eliminate the intervening 80 years, nor can it change them. The research conducted in this project indicates that, for various reasons and in various ways, reunification was less the creation of a new Germany than a revision of the FRG. Many opportunities to begin anew and create a new order and structure were squandered and lost (Bahrman & Links, 2005).

Berlin shares similarities with other post-socialist cities, and, in particular, post-socialist capital cities. However, where the socialist history could be coordinated into a form of overarching narrative and linear development in many countries, the division of Germany complicated or in some ways negated the integration of the socialist past. This has however speeded up questions of urban development in Berlin, where the planning discourse is concrete, clear and firmly entrenched, as opposed to in other post-socialist capital cities, who are still grappling with the architecture and symbolic capital of the socialist era (e.g. in Warsaw, following Omilanowska, 2010).

Berlin's development will remain an outlier in Germany and the states of the former GDR, based in the former on its division and in the latter on the eastern half's privileged status during division. The dearth of productive industry will mean an increased and increasing importance of urban marketing, creative industries, service-based economy, and tourism. Development tendencies already point to strong growth in these sectors, and the high attractiveness of Berlin both as a creative metropolis and a tourist destination (Colomb, 2012). The adverse effects of these developments are just beginning to be felt and can be expected to increase over the next decade if measures are not taken to ameliorate them.

Berlin's & Germany's reunification marked the reordering of Europe, and a political restructuring of the world. Global discourses, still bogged down in the mires of Cold War contention and the oil shocks of the 1970s, had to be retrofitted (Jarausch, 2010). The role that Berlin played as the staging ground for the political and ideological struggles of the Cold War cannot be discounted. However, in the post-9/11 world, the struggles for hegemony and power have shifted to other arenas real and imagined (Jarausch, 2010).

Urban marketing in the city has taken a marked upswing since 2005, thanks to the efforts of several administrative branches in the city. Both marketing campaigns and critical reconstruction strive to stabilize and construct an authentic Berlin (experience), through the creation of a Prussian architectural heritage and a city teeming with young members of the creative class. However, by stabilizing the image, physical or symbolic, of Berlin into a monodimensional interpretation of the city, they are dooming Berlin to a stasis and stagnancy that urban areas can hardly afford in the current global age of inter-city competition (Colomb, 2012).

Coming back to the opening discussion of Shelley's sonnet, the metaphor of Ozymandias looms large in Berlin. Now, in the age of symbols and soft qualities, where image dominates and representation often carries more weight than materiality, the relative and absolute positioning of symbols is paramount. The case study examined in this dissertation presents the analysis of a hierarchy of interdependent proxies: Clara Zetkin as a proxy for socialist thought, the *Stadtschloss* as a proxy for German identity, or Berlin's cultural landscape as a proxy for the German national narrative. Buildings and spaces imbued with significance serve as symbolic vehicles of something more critical in the postmodern era: meaning. As the trunkless legs and fallen visage of Ramses evokes only irony and disconnection in the context of the open expanse of desert, so too the disembedded, isolated and fragmented remains of the socialist city, removed as they are from the context of history and spatial coherence.

Yet the currency of symbolic signification cannot obliterate the past. The inscription of a national narrative omitting certain portions of history does not make these portions less valid or less a part of the German national history in its comprehensive sense; "for since we happen to be the results of earlier generations we are also the results of their aberrations, passions and errors, even crimes; it is not possible quite to free oneself from this chain. If we condemn those aberrations and think ourselves quite exempt from them, the fact that we are descended from them is not eliminated" (Nietzsche, 1980, p. 22). Shelley's ironic and distanced description of Ramses, allows us to believe that we are exempt from his aberrations, so too the condemnation of the socialist past. Yet, even if we topple the statues, "the fact that we are descended from them is not eliminated".

## **Addendum - Publications**



## Article 1: (Re)Presentation of “the” past after German reunification in Berlin-Mitte, and its implications for cultural production through appropriation of space

### Full Citation:

Dellenbaugh, Mary. 2013. “(Re)Presentation of “the” Past after German Reunification in Berlin-Mitte, and its Implications for Cultural Production through Appropriation of Space.”, [sic] – a Journal of Literature, Culture and Literary Translation. Year 3, Number 2. Available online at [www.sic-journal.org](http://www.sic-journal.org).

Publication date: June 2013

### **Abstract**

This paper examines the appropriation of space for cultural production in Berlin’s central district Mitte in the years directly after German reunification (approximately 1990-1994) and suggests an explanatory model for the intensity of and motivations behind these changes. The research conducted for this paper used interviews, discourse analysis and historical research to identify three main impulses that guided spatial changes in Berlin’s central district Mitte directly after reunification: the divergent post-war development of the two Germanys, the political and structural aspects of reunification, and the moving of the German capital back to Berlin after 40 years in Bonn. The author posits that these changes represent not only “simple” physical and symbolic appropriation, but also a proxy for the reinterpretation of the German national narrative after 1990. In the conclusion, the author discusses the role of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (“coming to grips with the past”) and divided development as pivotal to the spatial developments in Berlin’s central district after reunification.

**Keywords:** Berlin, Critical reconstruction, Symbolic capital, Street names, Cold War, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*

### **Introduction**

One could say that nearly nothing that we encounter in the built environment is arbitrary. The street that we drive on to work was laid out by street planners, the name chosen by a panel of experts. The buildings to either side are the carefully selected work of architects working under the guidelines of urban planners. The name of the city, the zoning of the districts, right down to the type and arrangement of street trees, everything that we see or experience in the urban landscape represents a human decision.

Since the beginning of time, humans have shaped their environment to suit their needs and tastes. As the necessities of shelter and community were sated, aesthetic considerations began to take hold. A house was no longer “just” a house, but the dwelling of a commoner, a chief, or a priest. The social differences of the residents were transcribed onto the built form. Similarly, the purpose of the different buildings determined their form. This originated with purely structural necessities, for example the different physical requirements of a house, a barn and a marketplace. However, certain buildings and built space forms were differentiated based not on structural necessities but rather to emphasize their cultural importance. This is above all the case in religious and government buildings. The emphasizing of some buildings and places over

others determines and displays a cultural power gradient. In the words of Foucault, “both architectural and urban planning, both designs and ordinary buildings, offer privileged instances for understanding how power operates” (quoted in Guy, 2004, p. 77).

In the industrial and post-industrial world, we imbue spaces with cultural meaning as a way of highlighting this information; naming a fountain after a famous general is a way of honoring this person. It also tells us about the value system of the culture in which the fountain is located. It tells us that this general was, for those in power at the time of commemoration, more important than the local freedom fighter, the leading feminist, the last president, or any number of other possible candidates.

This process becomes even more controversial when one considers the situation in contested landscapes, for example colonies, war zones, and newly-acquired territories. The changing of names, removal of monuments, and adoption of new aesthetic styles represent in these cases the spatial expression of the new hegemony’s cultural dominance.

Much research has been conducted about the active processes of cultural appropriation in Eastern Europe following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. This research project investigates the subtle and extremely potent changes in symbolic capital in post-socialist context in Berlin, specifically physical, symbolic and discursive changes in Mitte since the fall of the Berlin Wall. As “arguments about buildings and squares are inevitably arguments about history and identity” (Ladd, 1997, p. 61), an investigation of these changes intends to shed light on expressions of identity in reunified Berlin and Germany.

### **The research project**

The results outlined in this paper are part of a larger research project entitled “Urban development paradigms in post-reunification East Berlin, a grounded theory approach”. As implied in the title, the project relies on the grounded theory method of Glaser and Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and employed a mixed-methods approach including demographic data analysis, interviews, historical research and discourse analysis.

The selection, portrayal and canonization of a selective historical narrative form a discursive practice set in motion by one or more powerful actors and carried on by other lesser distributors (Altrock et al., 2010). Therefore, research methods such as discourse analysis and interviews are particularly well-suited to the answering of such questions. The author has conducted 21 30- to 90-minute interviews with renter advocacy groups, immigration delegates, urban researchers, and urban planning officials, and undertaken extensive research of planning documents, newspaper articles and academic literature.

### **Space as a Political and Symbolic Good**

According to Altrock et al, a symbolic place is “a physical space that possesses a surplus of significance that is not directly connected to its physical appearance” (Altrock et al., 2010, p. 7). This significance is called “symbolic capital” (Bourdieu, 1992), and, in contrast to the tangible characteristics of a space, is not transmitted through objective observation of the space but rather through the examination of the space in its cultural and political context. The ascription of symbolic capital can take place either formally or informally, intentionally or spontaneously. Symbolic spaces can possess a range of meanings and values as wide as that of the culture in

which they are contextually embedded (Altrock et al., 2010). Indeed, this is the very aspect of symbolic spaces that makes them so fascinating; their reflection of the values of society, officially condoned, egregiously ignored, and/or surreptitiously pursued.

Officially-sanctioned symbolic spaces mass-produce traditions by legitimizing the hegemonic worldview (Azaryahu, 1997; Hobsbawm, 1992); "from this perspective urban identity becomes a product of deliberate selection processes by urban elites and governments in order to create the intended narrative or story" (Tölle, 2010, p. 349). This is particularly important where the tradition or worldview is under debate, for example in times of revolution and radical change (Azaryahu, 1997; De Soto, 1996; Hobsbawm, 1992; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). The commemoration of space through the naming of places and consecration of memorials, as well as the de-commemoration of space through the replacement of existing names and the removal of existing monuments, represents an ideological domination through spatial domination (Azaryahu, 1997; De Soto, 1996; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010), hearkening back to Lefebvre's claim that "one of the consistent ways to limit the economic and political rights of groups has been to constrain social reproduction by limiting access to space" (De Soto, 1996, p. 33).

These acts select an appropriate version of historical events to portray as "the" past by selecting from among the many possible historical discourses (Wodak, 1994). In this respect, "the" past is a historical narrative: a subjective selection, a politicized ideology, and a discursive process. The inculcation of these ideologies into the landscape makes them ordinary, even banal, and allows the politicized historical narrative to become part of the 'natural order' through "a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 4). In this way, official symbolic spaces say just as much about what should be remembered as what should be ignored (Altrock et al., 2010).

Naming and describing, in the formal sense, define the structure that the social world (may) have (Bourdieu, 1992). Therefore, sanctioned, officially recognized, and condoned symbolic spaces serve in the construction of social reality through their establishment of a selected history at the cost of all other possible realities (Altrock et al., 2010; Bourdieu, 1992); "...the past serves and legitimizes open political goals, or supports a specific genealogical or teleological representation of history or simply reinforces the dominant political culture" (De Soto, 1996, p. 45). Indeed, the selection of one history at the cost of all others underlines the legitimacy of the dominant cultural group and simultaneously the illegitimacy of all other groups and viewpoints; "The results of these ... struggles have a direct bearing on whose vision of 'reality' will appear to matter socially, since landscapes are not just the products of social power but also tools or resources for achieving it" (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010, pp. 462–463).

The topographic ascription of symbolic capital is therefore an act of power through which some groups have the authority to name while others do not (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). In this respect, place-making can be seen as an act of dominance (Bourdieu, 1992) through the topographical inscription of a selected past, and the resulting canonization and normalization of the hegemonic political power (Azaryahu, 1997, 2011). This power is exercised by the dominant cultural group; "dominant class fractions, whose power rests on economic capital, aim to impose the legitimacy of their domination ... through their own symbolic production" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 168).

The selection, portrayal and canonization of a selective historical narrative form a discursive practice set in motion by one or more powerful actors and carried on and legitimized by other lesser distributors (for example, mass media, professionals and academics) (Altrock et al.,

2010). These powerful actors are legitimate representatives of the dominant power, and, following Bourdieu's division of specialized labor, are vested with a power to connote symbolic power and capital; they are "legitimate speaker(s), authorized to speak and to speak with authority" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 41). In this way, the legitimate speakers support the dominance of the dominant group, and the dominant group supports the legitimate speakers' claims to legitimacy.

### **Toponymic and Symbolic Inscription in Berlin after 1990**

The changes in Berlin after the fall of the Wall can be divided into two broad categories: removal or changing of street names and the reforming of the socialist downtown under the auspices of critical reconstruction. These changes represented a conservative and stringently anti-modernist and anti-socialist stance; "reunification brought demands to remove all traces of the Communist state" (Ladd, 1997, p. 209). This paper discusses changes in Mitte, the geographic and historic central district in Berlin, and former government center of the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

In Berlin's central district Mitte, where relatively few sculptural monuments were located, the socialist street names formed the backbone of symbolic capital on the landscape, above all in the main thoroughfares. In June of 1991, the Berlin Senate suggested the renaming of 190 streets in East Berlin (Azaryahu, 1997). In total, more than 80 streets were renamed between 1990 and 1994, including nearly all of the main thoroughfares in the district. The official decree about street (re) naming from 1994 was phrased as follows: "the second German democracy has no reason to honor politicians who actively contributed to the destruction of the first German democracy. The same goes for politicians who, after 1933, opposed one totalitarian dictatorship, that of the National Socialists, in order to replace it with another totalitarian dictatorship, that of the Communists" (Ladd, 1997, p. 210). The conservative political stance of the bill writers is clear from the wording, above all the equivocation of both the Third Reich and GDR as "totalitarian dictatorships", as well as the description of reunified Germany as the "second German democracy". Despite the theoretical application to the entire city (for example the lingering national socialist street names in West Berlin), as Brian Ladd points out, "the government ... restricted its purview to the former East Berlin, effectively limiting its purge to *leftist* opponents of the Weimar democracy" (Ladd, 1997, p. 211).

These changes were accompanied by sweeping changes to the architectural structure of the city center, which took place through the introduction of a new aesthetic *Leitbild* called "critical reconstruction". Critical reconstruction was developed in West Berlin during the 1987 International Building Exhibition (IBA 1987) as an innovative new (postmodern) approach to urban renewal, and was expanded after reunification into an all-encompassing vision for the city. It continues in a slightly less dominant form as the prevalent style in the city today (for more about critical reconstruction and its role as a *Leitbild*, please see Hennecke).

Critical reconstruction bundled together several typical postmodern stances with a distinct nostalgia for the industrial-era city structure. The new aesthetic ideal combined the rediscovery and revitalization of inner city areas, an aversion to high-rises as bastions of the modernist past, and the heralding of the "European city". These efforts were combined with a desire to create an "authentic" historical Berlin (Strom, 2001) through the fabrication of a new "Prussian" architectural and cultural tradition based on pre-WWI urban development, in particular the tenement housing erected during Berlin's industrial boom (Huyssen, 1997; Ladd, 1997;

Marcuse, 1998; Spittler & Knischewski, 1995; Strom, 2001). The new building guidelines followed in part those of the nineteenth century, for example by setting building height limits, and embraced a fine-grained urban structure (Ladd, 1997).

The new planning based itself on the industrial-era street plan of the city, what the planners called “the memory of the city” (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin, 2000; Stimmann, 2001a), and included not only construction in empty lots, for example on the former border area, but also the demolition of modernist buildings and squares to make way for the reconstruction of the former street grid. These processes were most intensive in Mitte, where socialist modernist planning and building had been most concentrated.

Critics of critical reconstruction, such as Simone Hain & Wolfgang Kil, questioned the invented traditionalism and Prussian nostalgia of the planners; “Berlin must be Berlin, they say. Identity is at stake. ... Prescriptions such as city block building, traditional window facades, a uniform height of twenty-two meters ..., and building in stone are vociferously defended against all evidence that such traditionalism is wholly imaginary” (Huyssen, 1997, p. 68). In addition, many critics saw the decisively anti-modern stance of the planners as a politically-desired denial of the GDR past; “from this perspective, it is no wonder that the devaluation of post-war urban structures ... became a strong conflict point in former East Berlin as it was seen by many as yet another attempt to eradicate East Germans’ past and identity” (Tölle, 2010, p. 352).

Critical reconstruction and the tenets that it sets out went well beyond a few overview plans. Indeed, through the aesthetic dominance of the legitimate speakers, the new ideal created an invisible guideline by which all other built form was measured. The changes were pervasive, sudden and irreversible; „In this process, it’s not just about a concrete problem in a single place, but about the orthodox enforcement of an overarching principle through which 80 years of urban development according to the principles of ‘light, air, and sun’ can be discredited as completely misguided” (Hain, 1997, p. 115). In this way, a selected few actors not only succeeded in dominating the discussion about building the new Berlin, but also in creating an all-encompassing aesthetic model based on western aesthetic ideals, democracy, postmodernism, and capitalism, led by critical reconstruction and the new planning for the inner city, “*Planwerk Innenstadt*”; “there is a sociopolitical background ... behind *Planwerk Innenstadt*, for example the plan to reparcel Alexanderplatz and sell those plots to urban citizens. These plans don’t just clear away architectural Modernism, but also the welfare state promise that Modernism was all about. So: light, air & sun for everyone, good apartments for large portions of society. And that was replaced with the figure of the urban citizen, who, as an investor, is supposed to occupy the center of the city, and be the savior for urban development” (Interview 17, 2012).

The new guideline provided for the complete restructuring of the socialist downtown beginning in the early 1990s and continues to this day, including the removal of many of the central government buildings of the GDR and the dismantling of the architectural ensemble in which they were embedded (for an exhaustive examination of individual examples, please see Danesch, 2010). The most hotly debated of these changes was the closing and demolition of the Palace of the Republic (*Palast der Republik*), the seat of the GDR parliament; “the street renaming got a lot of publicity, but it was only one of the many many symbolic appropriations. The biggest symbolic appropriation was ... the city palace and the palace of the republic” (Interview 19, 2012). The Palace of the Republic had been erected on the former location of the Hohenzollern palace (here described as the city palace, *Stadtschloss*), which had been badly

damaged in bombing attacks during the war and demolished by the socialists in 1950. Many conservatives saw the demolition of the Palace of the Republic as the only option after reunification; “here, East German history was embodied by the Palace of the Republic” (Ladd, 1997, p. 62). When, shortly after reunification, a private lobby was created for the reconstruction of the Hohenzollern palace, conservative politicians were the first to laud the idea; “the CDU party members jumped at the idea. The talk was all about ‘we have to show an image of German history on this location’” (Interview 18, 2012).

As already discussed, the appropriation of space for cultural production is an important part of the establishment of “the” past, and the normalization of hegemonic historical and cultural discourse in the landscape. The demolition of the Hohenzollern Palace and the construction of the Palace of the Republic in its place was an unmistakable expression of cultural power on the part of the socialists. The location represents the geographical, historic and cultural focal point of the city, therefore the building or monument occupying this spot defines the tone of the spatial and cultural hegemony in Berlin. For this reason, the lobby to remove the Palace of the Republic is not surprising. Indeed, it epitomizes the reactionary nature of anti-communism after the end of the cold war; “The perspective of the victor, wishing to ratify a triumph, just as the Communist victors of 1945 had triumphantly cleared away the royal palace” (Ladd, 1997, p. 63).

### **Critical impulses in post-reunification development: an explanatory model**

The removal and discrediting of the symbolic and architectural representation of “unwanted” histories signifies a restriction in symbolic representation of these eras. In post-reunification Berlin, the concept of architecture and urban planning as expressions of national and civic identity became a flashpoint of political, aesthetic and symbolic debates (Ladd, 1997). But how were such sweeping changes possible? What were the mechanisms by which they were achieved and in which historic discourses were they embedded?

This project identified three main factors that played significant roles in the scope and ideological direction of the changes described: the divergent post-war development of the two Germanys, the political and structural aspects of reunification, and the moving of the German capital back to Berlin after 40 years in Bonn.

#### *Divergent architectural discourses in postwar Germany*

The 1970s marked the so-called “collapse of Modernism” (Kraft, 2011, p. 49) in Western Europe and the US, a cultural movement said by many to have been set in motion by the works of Jane Jacobs (Jacobs, 1961) and Robert Venturi (Venturi, 1966) in the early-to-mid 1960s in the US. Postmodernism moved away from the so-called “international style” of the postwar period, which was dominated by orthogonal angles, extensive use of glass and concrete, open interior spaces, disconnection with surrounding buildings and a complete lack of ornamentation, to embrace a return to facade ornamentation, a relation to surrounding buildings, historic reference in decorative elements, and the use of non-orthogonal angles. The postmodern movement criticized modernism as monotonous, disruptive, hostile, utopian and totalitarian. Whereas the modernists had sought a utopia beyond industrial expansion based upon ultimate truths and implemented through overarching landscape plans, postmodernism preferred variety and subjective preferences that created the landscape as a tapestry of many diverse elements. One interview partner described it as follows: „these days it seems nearly self-evident

that Industrial-Revolution-Era historic buildings (and) inner city areas are cool and livable, and that [Modernist buildings and satellite housing projects] are inhuman and hostile... And if you look back historically, that's comparatively new. In the 60s and even part of the 70s, the common understanding was that the inner-city areas were run down, that no one can live in these dark courtyards, and therefore we have to renovate them to death. If you walk through West Berlin, you often see houses that were renovated during the 50s and 60s. They have these plain gray plaster facades. That's where the intricate plasterwork that was on there was chipped off, because it was seen at that point in time as outdated kitsch from the times of the monarchy" (Interview 12, 2011).

Postmodernism did not achieve cultural hegemonic status in all parts of the world equally, a characteristic that is particularly apparent in the comparison of East and West Cold War era architecture and planning in Berlin. While the eastern half of the city took its cue from the USSR (Hain, 1992), West Berlin, like West Germany, oriented itself towards the West, in particular the USA (Becker-Cantarino, 1996); These different cultural orientations were solidified in the architecture and urban planning of the time; while postmodernism became the overwhelmingly dominant aesthetic discourse in West Germany and West Berlin in the 1970s, culminating in the 1987 international building exhibition (*Internationale Bauausstellung*) which ran from 1979 to 1987, in East Berlin the discourse was limited to isolated neo-historical projects in the 1980s (Urban, 2009). East Germany continued to build in the international style into the 1980s, well after this style was spurned for its monotony, totalitarianism, and hostility by its western counterpart. In this way, it was possible for the construction of socialist modernist and western postmodernist building projects to occur simultaneously just a few kilometers from one another within the same divided city.

#### *Accession not reunification*

With the signing of the unification contract in 1990, the accession of East Germany into West Germany gained legal legitimacy. This step consisted of the replacement of the institutional systems of the GDR with the legal, political, and economic systems of West Germany (De Soto, 1996; Häußermann & Strom, 1994; Strom, 2001). Due to institutionalized exclusion of pro-Western citizens in the GDR, there was a distinct dearth of qualified bureaucrats, trained administration personnel and civil servants familiar with or sympathetic to the western system in East Germany, a situation that led to nearly all of these positions being filled by West Germans after reunification (for a detailed description of this process, see Strom, 2001, Chapter 4). According to one of my interview partners, "it was an accession, not a reunification. ... East Berlin was incorporated as a new part of West Berlin. The existing West Berlin Senate became the government for both sides, so to speak, and the positions of power were correspondingly already filled. There were hardly any East Germans from the intermediary civic government or from the popular movements with influential positions in urban planning or urban development policy after 1990. There were a few individuals in the senate, but you could count them on one hand. In most cases, the East Germans were just token representatives on the district level. And as a result there was a very clear power differential" (Interview 17, 2012).

The new aesthetic ideal was championed by a small set of powerful actors, namely urban planners and leading politicians, and was disseminated by the media. The major actors of the period directly after the *Wende* were the politicians of the CDU (Christian democrats) and SPD (social democrats) who ruled in coalition from 1990 to 1995, the then-construction senator

Hans Stimmann, urban planner Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, Vittorio Lampugnani, then-director of the German Museum of Architecture in Frankfurt am Main, and a few lesser bureaucrats (Strom, 2001). These actors, the “legitimate speakers” of the new hegemony, were high-ranking aesthetic and political elites from the West German expertocracy, and thus socially and culturally embedded in the western architectural culture of postmodernism. Their efforts were supported by the Axel Springer publishing house, whose dailies constitute the majority share of circulation both in Berlin and Germany. Indeed, the nationalistic, conservative Springer publishing house had been “vocal advocates of conservatism, Cold War politics, and a strong anti-communist stance in Berlin” (Becker-Cantarino, 1996, p. 17), thereby adding yet additional clout to this propensity; “From my perspective, it wasn’t discussed publicly really, much more after the fact. ... People talked more about the result, rather than discussing it beforehand. Even the *Stadtforum* (City Forum) which was active at the time... was always the same people. And for me, everything just went around in circles – everyone said their opinion but there was never really any constructive discussion about it ... The *Stadtforum* was made up of architects, urban planners, administrators .... The public could attend ... At the beginning you could see that it really was an attempt at coming to some sort of common opinion, but later it was very very one-sided. It always ended up just confirming the status quo – ‘it’s good, and that’s how it will be done’” (Interview 18, 2012).

#### *Berlin, the once and future capital*

The 1991 declaration that the German seat of government would indeed move back to Berlin after 40 years in its provisional seat in Bonn (*Hauptstadtvertrag*) added additional layers of complexity and implication to the structural changes in Berlin; “That the capital would return to Berlin was undisputed, but that the government center should return to Berlin, that was disputed, and had to be decided by the Bundestag” (Interview 20, 2012). As the new seat of German government, Berlin took on further significance as a model of “new German identity” (Strom, 2001) in a country struggling to reframe its national narrative in terms of reunification and democracy. The German legacy of the Second World War, which had defined the West German national narrative in the postwar period, could now be reframed in terms of reunification. Symbolic and architectural changes in Berlin were therefore both parallel to and more intense than de-communism efforts in eastern Europe, where “the main strategy to be observed since the 1990s was undoubtedly the creation of a “European” identity, aiming at shaping modern, international and capitalist place identities, which meant in consequence the complete rejection of the socialist past” (Tölle, 2010, p. 349); “Berlin had the unique situation, we had the singular chance to design the inner city new” (Interview 20, 2012). These changes carried the weight of the new national narrative and the singular chance to re-contextualize German identity in new terms not solely centered around the Second World War; “the political postures of the Communist regime, even those carved in stone, had no place in the unified German democracy” (Ladd, 1997, p. 193).

#### **Discussion**

The new spatial hegemony in post-reunification Berlin championed the western ideals of capitalism, democracy, market forces, consumerism, and postmodernism. The physical legacy of the socialist era was thusly damned in two regards: as the ideological tools of a fallen political regime and as modernist architecture and urban design. In the eyes of the West Germans who



came to power, the socialist urban landscape was “non-representative for the new Germany” (De Soto, 1996, p. 37) and the modernist urban landscape “unattractive and inefficient” (Strom, 2001, p. 2).

The changes discussed represent not the creation of a new common Germany from two concurrent histories, but the reversal of changes performed during the socialist era; Clara Zetkin Straße was reverted to Dorotheenstraße, Klement-Gottwald-Straße to Berliner Allee, the Palace of the Republic is currently being replaced by a reconstruction of the Hohenzollern Palace, and the city structure will, through continued critical reconstruction, be reverted to an ideal of what might have been before the Second World War, just to name a handful of examples. But why were the debates surrounding these changes so fierce?

In Germany, the Berlin Wall had provided a singular opportunity for coping with the cultural heritage of the Second World War; “The East-West division provided by the Wall permitted Germans themselves to project “otherness” onto their fellows. ... Germans could interpret official propaganda as implying that the people on the other side of the Wall monopolized the prejudiced, predatory, or authoritarian traits of the bad old days” (Ladd, 1997, p. 31). Thus, the Wall allowed the ideological divide, particularly in reference to Germany’s Nazi heritage, to widen, with both sides “grant(ing) the other the honor of being the Third Reich’s true successor” (Ladd, 1997, p. 180). The intensity of the ideological rift became particularly apparent in the 1980s with the so-called *Historikerstreit* (“historians’ debate”), in which several well-known west German academics attempted to equate the communist and national socialist regimes (Ladd, 1997; Spittler & Knischewski, 1995). Descriptions of the GDR as “totalitarian” and “the second German dictatorship” (Saarinen, 2008) implied a “fundamental similarity between Nazism and Communism” (Ladd, 1997, p. 23). In this way, “the Cold War (was) a continuation of the West’s struggle in World War II and, in the German context, East German Communist leader Walter Ulbricht as Hitler’s successor” (Ladd, 1997, p. 23). The removal of monuments and street names and the rebuilding of the city in the image of a capitalist democracy attempted to give the semblance of continuity with a bygone prosperity and peace, but, upon closer examination, it reveals a grave historic perversity; “Half a century after its end, and years after the division it spawned has been overcome, Hitler’s war remains the event that has defined and shaped Berlin” (Ladd, 1997, p. 175).

.Seen in the context of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (a West German term coined in the 1955 meaning “coping with the past”, a term often used to refer to the process of coping with the legacy of the national socialists), the motivations behind the need for cultural dominance become clearer; “Nostalgia, according to this thinking, implies a denial of inconvenient facts, in particular, an exclusion from German history of the Third Reich and the GDR” (Ladd, 1997, p. 66).

The style set out in critical reconstruction and the reversion to earlier street names hearken back to an idealized golden age in Berlin’s history before the traumata of two world wars and forty years of division (Ladd, 1997). In a symbolic and spatial context, where the socialist urban planning had replaced the remains of the pre-war city, these acts needed to be overturned to underline the legitimacy of the new hegemony and a continuity with the west German historical mythos, reflecting a deeply conservative view of history (Jarausch, 2010).

Critics argue that this approach systematically excludes the built space of the Weimar, Nazi, and GDR eras (Huyssen, 1997; Ladd, 1997; Marcuse, 1998; Strom, 2001). The removal of the architectural representation of “unwanted” histories from the landscape signifies a restriction in

symbolic representation of these eras; “for Hobsbawm and many other commentators, the redevelopment of Berlin has been characterized by a form of collective, even purposeful amnesia in which the physical erasure of the city has encourages a wider forgetting” (Guy, 2004, p. 79). The spatial and aesthetic delegitimization of 80 years of history amounts in the eyes of critical reconstructions’ critics to the delegitimization of these regimes and their heirs, a particularly thorny issue in regard to the built legacy of the GDR.

Why is this significant? Hobsbawm argues that the invention of tradition is evidence of discontinuities in the historical order; “they are important symptoms and therefore indicators of problems which might not otherwise be recognized” (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 12). Indeed, this debate may never have been of any importance had the German government not decided in 1991 to return the seat of government to Berlin. It was this pivotal decision that imbued the built urban landscape with its critical meaning; “here the crisis of modern architecture and urban planning coincides with the crisis of national identity” (Ladd, 1997, p. 230).

## **Conclusion**

In Berlin’s central district Mitte, active physical and symbolic strategies were used together to accommodate the landscape to the new hegemonic power structure. As the historical, cultural and geographic center of the city, Mitte possesses a symbolic worth higher than any other district and an incontrovertible opportunity for the presentation of a selected ideology.

The view of the socialist built space as inferior, inappropriate, ugly and inefficient reflected deeply seated cultural beliefs of “correct” and “incorrect”, “appropriate” and “inappropriate”. For planners in reunified Berlin both nostalgic for the lost Berlin of the era before the ravages of two world wars and raised with western cold war and postmodernist ideologies, the socialist construction of the city center represented the embodiment of the “other”, the image of the enemy (*Feindbild*). The establishment of one Germany meant not the forging of a new common history and image, but the adaptation and assimilation of deviant eastern landscapes and their residents to the western cultural myth. The framing of these changes not in a discourse of colonization (appropriation by an external aggressor) but rather in a discourse of reunification (restoration of historical continuity), allowed the logical dismissal of the 40-year East German existence and its history written in stone as a historical aberration and break in the “normal” historical development (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002; Ladd, 1997), at least by those western bureaucrats in charge of city planning. Through a reunification-oriented discourse, more and more intensive landscape changes were possible, as the symbolic and structural changes were framed as a return to the “natural order”. With the relocation of the capital back to Berlin, the “destruction of the city by modernist urban design and state centralism” (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2004b, p. 49) in its literal and metaphorical significance could be “set right”, thus restoring the continuity of the (west) German historical worldview (Jarausch, 2010) as “the” German past, a process that continues today, not least of which through the current “reconstruction” of the city palace in the center of the city.

All translations are the work of the author.

## Article 2: Die Stigmatisierung Berlin-Marzahns als Ausdruck kulturelle Hegemonie des Westens im vereinten Deutschland (The stigmatization of Berlin-Marzahn as an expression of Western cultural hegemony in post-reunification Germany)

### Full citation:

Dellenbaugh, Mary. 2014. Die Stigmatisierung Berlin-Marzahns als Ausdruck kulturelle Hegemonie des Westens im vereinten Deutschland in Götz, C. and A. Kliems (eds.). Spielplätze der Verweigerung. Gegenkulturen im östlichen Europa nach 1956. Weimar; Böhlau-Verlag, pp. 222-237.

Publication date: March 2014

### **Abstract**

This paper examines the immediate stigmatization of East German postwar housing estates directly after German reunification. Industrial-era inner city districts, renovated in the years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, are experiencing a “renaissance” after 40 years of neglect during the socialist regime. On the other side of the coin, large scale socialist-era housing estates are stigmatized. In hindsight, this situation seems to be self-evident and a natural consequence of urban development. Indeed, this article argues that the deeply rooted stigmatization processes in the peripheral socialist-era housing estates in Berlin are in part the result of the performative and discursive establishment of political, cultural and symbolic power directly after the reunification of Germany. The research in this project indicates that the stigmatization of the *Plattenbauten* reflects a one-to-one transference of West German perceptions of large scale housing of the post-war period. In a critical analysis of urban development in Berlin after 1990, particularly in respect to Berlin as the new seat of German government and model of German identity, this article examines this transference of western perceptions, and the resultant stigmatization of the Berlin district Marzahn, as embedded in architectural and national identity discourses in Germany after reunification.

### **0. Einleitung**

„Heutzutage erscheint das nahezu natürlich, dass irgendwie Gründerzeit-Altbau, Innenstadt cool und lebenswert ist, und dass die Platte menschenfeindlich wäre“ (Interview 12, 2011). Dieses Zitat aus einem Interview mit einem deutschen Stadtforscher fasst die Situation in Ost-Berlin gut zwei Jahrzehnte nach der deutschen Wiedervereinigung treffend zusammen. Nach vierzig Jahren Vernachlässigung durch die sozialistische Regierung erfahren die Innenstadtbezirke des Industriezeitalters, die in den Jahren nach dem Mauerfall saniert wurden, eine regelrechte Renaissance. Dem gegenüber steht die Stigmatisierung der Großwohnsiedlungen der sozialistischen Zeit. Rückblickend erscheint diese Situation als naheliegende und zu erwartende Folge urbaner Entwicklungsdynamiken wie Sanierung, soziale Segregation und Suburbanisierung. Dagegen wird in diesem Artikel versucht, die Prozesse der Stigmatisierung der Großwohnsiedlungen an Berlins Stadträndern als ein Resultat einer sofortigen

performativen und diskursiven Etablierung von politischer, kultureller und symbolischer Macht unmittelbar nach der deutschen Wiedervereinigung zu fassen.<sup>10</sup>

Wie schon von Brailich, Germes, Schirmel und Glasze dargelegt (Brailich et al., 2010), sind Nachkriegs-Wohnanlagen in ganz Europa von einer massiven Stigmatisierung betroffen, wenn auch aus unterschiedlichen Gründen. Die Untersuchung Brailichs und seiner Co-Autoren zeigt signifikante diskursive Unterschiede in der Wahrnehmung von Wohnanlagen der Nachkriegszeit in Frankreich, Ost- und Westdeutschland und Polen auf.

Die Großwohnsiedlungen Westeuropas wurden als soziale Wohnungsbaukomplexe errichtet. Sie galten in der Bundesrepublik als Lösung der Wohnungsnot von "breiten Schichten des Volkes" (I. WoBauG, 1950) in der Nachkriegszeit und wurden zunächst positiv bewertet. Erst mit der postmodernen Wende der 1970er-Jahre wurden die Imageprobleme dieser Wohnungsanlagen signifikant, insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit zunehmenden postkolonialen Dynamiken<sup>11</sup> und dem Machtgewinn neoliberaler ökonomischer und politischer Kräfte. Hieraus resultierte eine Selektion der Bewohner (hier als sozioräumliche Segregation bezeichnet), die Topographien der Ungleichheit zur Folge hatte. Eine nähere Betrachtung dieses Aspekts folgt weiter unten im ersten Teil dieses Artikels.

Repräsentativ für das Thema der Stigmatisierung sind die Untersuchungen von Jo Dean und Annette Hastings für Großbritannien sowie von Frank Wassenberg für die Niederlande und Westeuropa (Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings & Dean, 2001, 2003; Hastings, 2004; Helleman & Wassenberg, 2003; Wassenberg, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2006a, 2006b). Diese Studien sehen die Imageprobleme darin, dass diese Anlagen als unterste Stufe des neoliberalen Immobilienmarkts wahrgenommen werden und als Auffangbecken für gesellschaftlich Ausgegrenzte gelten, für Unerwünschte und von der gesellschaftlichen Norm Abweichende wie Immigranten, arbeitslose und alleinerziehende Mütter, die von einem neoliberalen und deregulierten Wohnungswesen aussortiert wurden.

Brailich und seine Co-Autoren identifizierten für Frankreich und Westdeutschland dasselbe Muster. Der Diskurs um die *Plattenbauten* in Ostdeutschland hingegen folgt einer anderen Gesetzmäßigkeit, da diese Wohnanlagen nicht als sozialer Wohnungsbau errichtet wurden, sondern vielmehr der Unterbringung gesellschaftlich und politisch gut eingegliedelter Staatsangehöriger dienten. Die Stigmatisierung der ostdeutschen Wohnanlagen der Nachkriegszeit ist dennoch besonders hartnäckig (Bernt & Kabisch, 2006; Rietdorf et al., 2001), und dies trotz der hohen Zufriedenheitsraten der Bewohner (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004), einer vollständig anderen Bewohnerzusammensetzung und eines völlig anderen kontextuellen Ursprungs als ihre westdeutschen Pendanten. Gegenstand dieses Beitrags ist daher die Untersuchung der Gründe für die Stigmatisierung von ostdeutschen *Plattenbauten* unmittelbar nach der Wende anhand des Fallbeispiels Berlin-Marzahn.

Die Untersuchungen dieses Projekts, zu dem die vorgestellten Ergebnisse einen Teilaspekt darstellen und das detaillierte Interviews, Diskursanalysen und historische Forschung

---

<sup>10</sup> Vielerlei Studien untersuchen die negativen Entwicklungen (u.a. Leerstand, Stigmatisierung durch Rechtstextremismus, usw.) der ostdeutschen Plattenbauten seit der Wende. Die vorliegende Abhandlung widmet sich einem bisher unterforschten Thema, nämlich der semantischen Übertragung von Beschreibungen ähnlicher Bauformen, was zweifellos einer der Faktoren war, der zur weiteren Abwärtsentwicklungen in späteren Jahren beigetragen hat.

<sup>11</sup> Dies gilt vor allem in Frankreich, wo die Siedlungen der Vorstädte zunehmend seit den 80er von Migranten aus ehemaligen Kolonien bezogen wurden. Siehe hierzu Germes & Tijé-Dra, 2012; Wacquant, 1993.

einschließt, deuten darauf hin, dass die Stigmatisierung der Plattenbauten eine Eins-zu-Eins-Übertragung westdeutscher Wahrnehmung von Großwohnsiedlungen der Nachkriegszeit ist. Dies soll hier unter dem Gesichtspunkt des semiotischen Bedeutungswandels behandelt werden. In einer kritischen Analyse der urbanen Entwicklung Berlins nach 1990 untersucht dieser Artikel, wie im Zusammenhang mit den architektonischen und planerischen Diskursen in Deutschland nach der Wiedervereinigung westliche Wahrnehmungen übertragen werden und wie daraus die Stigmatisierung des Berliner Bezirks Marzahn resultiert. Insbesondere sollen drei Fragen beantwortet werden: Was waren die Ausgangspunkte der Stigmatisierung des Berliner Bezirks Marzahn nach der deutschen Wiedervereinigung? Welche Mechanismen führten zur Übertragung des Diskurses? In welchen auf die Wiedervereinigung folgenden Diskursen ist die "Platte" positioniert? Um diese Fragen beantworten zu können, sollen im Folgenden die Vorwende-Geschichte des Großwohnsiedlungsbaus in Ost und West und die Art der Wiedervereinigung genauer betrachtet werden.

### **1. Vorwende-Geschichte: Großwohnsiedlungsbau, Modernismus und Postmodernismus**

Die Industrialisierung des Wohnungswesens war ein Konzept der Moderne, das von Bauhaus-Architekten wie Mies van der Rohe und Bruno Taut erstmals bekannt gemacht und umgesetzt wurde (Hannemann, 2004). Es wurde aber erst mit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs und der in seiner Folge herrschenden Wohnungsnot umgesetzt. Wie Christine Hannemann schreibt, "[...] industrialization of housing in the form of large housing estates became the world-wide favored form of building and acted as a solution to the housing question. This type of building was not only the central framework of the state housing policy in Eastern bloc countries, but also in Western countries, such as in Great Britain, in Scandinavian countries and particularly in France" (Hannemann, 2004, pp. 6 & 7).

Großwohnsiedlungen repräsentieren gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Bewegungen wie die Moderne und den Fordismus, die in den 1950er- und 1960er-Jahren in Westeuropa bestimmend waren. Diese Bewegungen hatten sowohl auf die Form des gebauten Raumes als auch auf die Organisation der Fläche Einfluss. Die architektonische Ära des Modernismus, initiiert von den Vorgängern des Bauhauses und unterbrochen in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus, lässt sich mit dem programmatische Zitat „form follows function“ (Bräunert, 2010; Ladd, 1997) charakterisieren. Die Industrialisierung und Dezentralisierung des Wohnungswesens, wie sie die Bauhaus-Architekten der 1920er- und 1930er-Jahre vorschlugen, war eine unmittelbare Reaktion auf die Mietskasernen des Industriezeitalters. Insbesondere in Berlin war dies die Antwort auf den im Zuge der Industrialisierung immer dichter besiedelten und bebauten Innenstadtraum (Ladd, 1997, p. 104).

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg war Wohnungsnot ein weit verbreitetes Problem in ganz Europa. Viele Stadtplaner sahen dies als Chance, eine Welt nach dem Konzept des Fordismus und dem damals vorherrschenden Ideal der Mittelklassegesellschaft durch Bau von Großwohnsiedlungen zu gestalten. Das Konzept des Fordismus war auf der Grundlage der von Henry Ford entwickelten Fließbandmontage entstanden und impliziert eine durch Funktion bestimmte Organisation, in diesem Fall die Trennung von Wohnraum und Industrie, Gewerbe und anderen miteinander nicht kompatiblen Flächennutzungen (Hannemann, 2004). Darüber hinaus war sowohl im Osten als auch im Westen die Lehrmeinung der Nachkriegs-Stadtplanung vom Konzept der Mittelklasse bestimmt: "The socio-political idea of a homogeneous "middle-class society" in the East and in the West, as it was the case after World War II, was supposed to be

realized on the spatial level through uniform apartments for nuclear families” (Hannemann, 2004, p. 7).

Wie bereits oben angemerkt, wurden die Großwohnsiedlungen in Westdeutschland als sozialer Wohnungsbau konzipiert. Das erste Wohnungsbaugesetz (I. WoBauG) von 1950 forderte den Bau von sechs Millionen Einheiten innerhalb von fünf Jahren, die für „die breiten Schichten des Volkes bestimmt und geeignet“ (I. WoBauG, 1950) waren. Gemeint ist hier die deutsche Mittelschicht der 1950er-Jahre, für welche die Großwohnsiedlungen Westdeutschlands ursprünglich konzipiert waren. Seit den 1980er-Jahren jedoch entsprach die Zusammensetzung der Bewohnerschaft nicht mehr der eigentlich angestrebten Zielgruppe. Im Gegensatz zur ursprünglichen Vorstellung der Initiatoren und als Folge der neoliberalen sozialen Segregation, am Ende des “Wirtschaftswunders“, die zur Umdeutung dieser Strukturen im Zusammenhang mit dem “postmodern turn” führten, setzt sich die Bewohnerschaft heute aus Immigranten und deutschen Familien mit niedrigem sozialen Status zusammen.

Die 1970er-Jahre markierten den sogenannten „collapse of Modernism“ (Kraft, 2011, p. 49) in der westlichen Welt. Schon in den frühen 1960er-Jahren waren in den USA zwei wegweisende Arbeiten entstanden, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961) und *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (Venturi, 1966), die neue Sichtweisen auf die Architektur vorstellten. Ihnen wird zugeschrieben, durch ihre Kritik die Bewegung weg von der Moderne ausgelöst zu haben. Die hierauf folgende grundlegende Veränderung in der Stadtentwicklung Amerikas und Westeuropas ist heute allgemein als „postmodern turn“ bekannt. Der Beginn postmoderner Architektur und Stadtplanung wird emblematisch mit dem 16. März 1972 festgesetzt, also mit dem ersten Abriss einer Nachkriegs-Wohnanlage, der Siedlung Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis. Die postmoderne Wende brachte eine neue, entscheidende Abwertung fordristischer und modernistischer Planungen. Sie wurden nun als monoton, lebensfeindlich, utopisch und totalitär wahrgenommen und bezeichnet. Diese Umwertung führte zu einer Rückkehr in die alten Innenstadtbezirke und zu ihrer Wiederbelebung. Sie fand ihren Ausdruck aber auch als historische Referenzen in der Architektur, in räumlichen Bezugnahmen zwischen Gebäuden und der Umsetzung individueller Wünsche und Vorlieben, insbesondere in der Fassadendekoration.

In Westdeutschland leiteten das dortige Ende des Wirtschaftsaufschwungs und die daraus resultierende Rezession parallel zu diesen kulturellen, „postmodernen“ Entwicklungen eine Zeit neoliberaler politischer und ökonomischer Prozesse ein. Diese schlossen eine wachsende Liberalisierung ursprünglich staatlicher Institutionen und signifikante Einschränkungen staatlicher Mitfinanzierung ein (Kraft, 2011). Das Ergebnis waren steigende Arbeitslosenzahlen, hauptsächlich unter den sogenannten Gastarbeitern, die während des Wirtschaftsaufschwungs vor allem aus Jugoslawien und der Türkei nach Westdeutschland gekommen waren. Diese Bevölkerungsgruppen waren ursprünglich in den unsanierten Mietshäusern der Stadtzentren angesiedelt worden, wie im Westberliner Bezirk Kreuzberg (Häußermann & Kapphann, 2004b). Die Umkehrung in der kulturellen Bewertung nachkriegszeitlicher Wohnsiedlungen und industriezeitlicher innerstädtischer Mietshäuser resultierte nicht zuletzt im Zusammenhang mit dem Beginn der neoliberalen ökonomischen Reformen in einer Abwertung ersterer und einer Aufwertung letzterer. Dies brachte zunächst eine Verlagerung der ursprünglich in den Innenstadtbereichen ansässigen Zuwandererbevolkerung in die unbeliebt gewordenen Großwohnsiedlungen mit sich, und infolgedessen eine Konzentration von Migranten und Arbeitslosen im Sozialwohnungsbau (Vgl. hierzu Bräunert, 2010; Häußermann & Kapphann, 2004b; Häußermann & Strom, 1994). Sabine Kraft beschreibt diese Umdeutung treffend:

In der 70er Jahren beginnt in ganz Europa ein Wechsel in der Wahrnehmung des Nachkriegswohnungsbaus, der auf eine komplette semantische Verkehrung hinausläuft: Aus zeitgemäßen modernen Wohnverhältnissen in bevorzugter Lage im Grünen werden menschenunwürdige Aufhäufungen von Wohnungen, triste Betonburgen, schlecht angebundene, in ihrer Monofunktionalität für die Erfordernisse des Alltags nur unzureichend ausgestattete „Schlafstädte“ (Kraft, 2011, p. 48).

Die Veränderung war nicht nur tiefgreifend, sondern auch sehr plötzlich: „1979 prägte der Deutsche Städtetag den Begriff des *sozialen Brennpunkts* kurz nach bzw. noch während der Bauphase jener Großsiedlungen, zu deren Charakterisierung er dienen sollte“ (Kraft, 2011, p. 48). Heute werden Nachkriegs-Wohnsiedlungen durch den Filter der Postmoderne gesehen. Bedingt durch die Rahmenbedingungen, die in Westeuropa durch das Scheitern der fordistischen Stadtplanung und ihrer Funktionsaufteilung geprägt sind, werden diese Anlagen nun als sowohl gesellschaftliches als auch urbanes Erneuerungsproblem angesehen (Vgl. Hannemann, 2004).

Auf der anderen Seite der Berliner Mauer entsprachen die während der Chruschtschow-Ära erbauten Wohnanlagen (im Folgenden mit ihrer nach der Wiedervereinigung geprägten Etikettierung als „Plattenbauten“ bezeichnet) ihren westlichen Gegenstücken in Form und Aufbau:

One might have expected the construction of the Wall to encourage further divergence in urban form between East and West. Thanks to Khrushchev's initiative, however, the opposite happened. Buildings from the 1960s and 1970s in East and West Berlin are by no means identical, but to the outside observer the general resemblance is striking (Ladd, 1997, p. 189).

Ähnlich wie bei den Nachkriegs-Wohnanlagen des Westens waren Bauweise und Design auf die Kernfamilie ausgerichtet und basierten auf dem fordistischen Konzept der funktionalen Aufteilung (Vgl. Hannemann, 2004). Dennoch waren die Wohnanlagen in Ost und West, trotz ihrer oberflächlich sichtbaren Gemeinsamkeiten, innerhalb sehr unterschiedlicher politischer und ideologischer Kontexte und zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten erbaut worden, zwei maßgebliche Umstände, die für die Argumentation dieses Artikels eine bedeutende Rolle spielen werden.

Die Industrialisierung des Wohnungsbaus, wie wir sie aus der DDR kennen, nahm erstmals 1957 mit der Errichtung der ersten industriell vorgefertigten Bebauung in Hoyerswerda wirklich Form an. Dies war der Anfang der semantischen Verknüpfung der ostdeutschen industriellen Bauweise mit seiner Hauptkomponente, der vorgefertigten Platte (Hannemann, 2004). Vergleichbar mit anderen stadtplanerischen Entscheidungen, sollte auch im Wohnungsbau der DDR der Sozialismus in einem räumlichen Kontext zur Anwendung kommen sowie die sozialistische Lebensweise voran gebracht werden (Hannemann, 2004). So konstatiert auch Hartmut Häußermann: „The housing systems were not to reproduce social divisions, but to enable all inhabitants to follow the ‘socialist way of living’“ (Häußermann, 1996a, p. 214). Die Bauform dieser und der in der Folge errichteten Anlagen war intendiert

monofunktional und undifferenziert. Dieses Charakteristikum sollte die Entdifferenzierung der Wohneinheiten (und damit auch ihrer Bewohner) regelrecht sichtbar machen und damit die soziale Gleichwertigkeit der Bewohner demonstrieren: “[...] architects and engineers were supposed not to work on the endless differentiation of the typology of the individual dwelling but, on the contrary, to materialize the collective essence of socialist life into the living environment” (Hannemann, 2004, p. 8). Im Jahr 1971, auf dem VIII. Parteitag der SED, wurde dann die Entscheidung getroffen, das Wohnungsproblem ein und für alle Mal zu lösen, indem man im groß angelegten Stil Plattenbauviertel baute.

Derselben konsequenten Stadtentwicklungsideologie und Parteilinie folgend, setzte die DDR seit den 1950er Jahren die Entwicklung industrieller Gebäudetechnik und die Errichtung von Großwohnanlagen bis weit in die 1980er Jahre fort, lange nachdem in Bezug auf ihre westlichen Entsprechungen der grundlegende Wandel zur Postmoderne vollzogen worden war. Tatsächlich waren einige der größeren Anlagen beim Fall der Berliner Mauer noch immer im Bau (Kraft, 2011, pp. 48 & 49). Diese zeitliche Verschiebung und die divergierende Entwicklung des architektonischen Diskurses beidseitig der Berliner Mauer stellen den Angelpunkt der Stigmatisierung der Plattenbauten nach der Wiedervereinigung dar, wie in der Zeitleiste graphisch dargestellt. (Abb. 1)

Aufgrund dieser unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen waren die Nachkriegswohnanlagen des Westens zum Zeitpunkt der Wende 1989 stark von steigender Armut, anwachsenden Immigrantenzahlen und den üblicherweise mit sozialem Wohnungsbau in Verbindung gebrachten Problemen betroffen (Siehe hierzu Brailich et al., 2008, 2010; Elsinga & Wassenberg, 1991; Hastings & Dean, 2001, 2003; Hastings, 2004; Wassenberg, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c). Die Nachkriegswohnanlagen des Ostens hingegen waren Wohnsitz einer homogenen Bewohnerschaft, die vorwiegend zur gesellschaftlichen Elite gehörte.

Mein Fallbeispiel, der Berliner Bezirk Marzahn, ist ein gutes Beispiel eines solchen Plattenbauviertels. Der Bezirk war 1979 gegründet worden, und bis zum Zusammenbruch der DDR 1989 wurden dort 100 000 Wohnungen für 220 000 Mieter gebaut. Die ursprünglichen Bewohner stellten eine relativ homogene Gruppe dar, die sich aus jungen Familien und Arbeitern zusammensetzte. Sie alle bekamen aufgrund ihres bevorzugten Status im sozialistischen gesellschaftspolitischen System von ihrer Fabrik oder aufgrund ihrer Parteizugehörigkeit eine Wohnung in Marzahn zugewiesen.



# Entwicklung des Architekturdiskurses

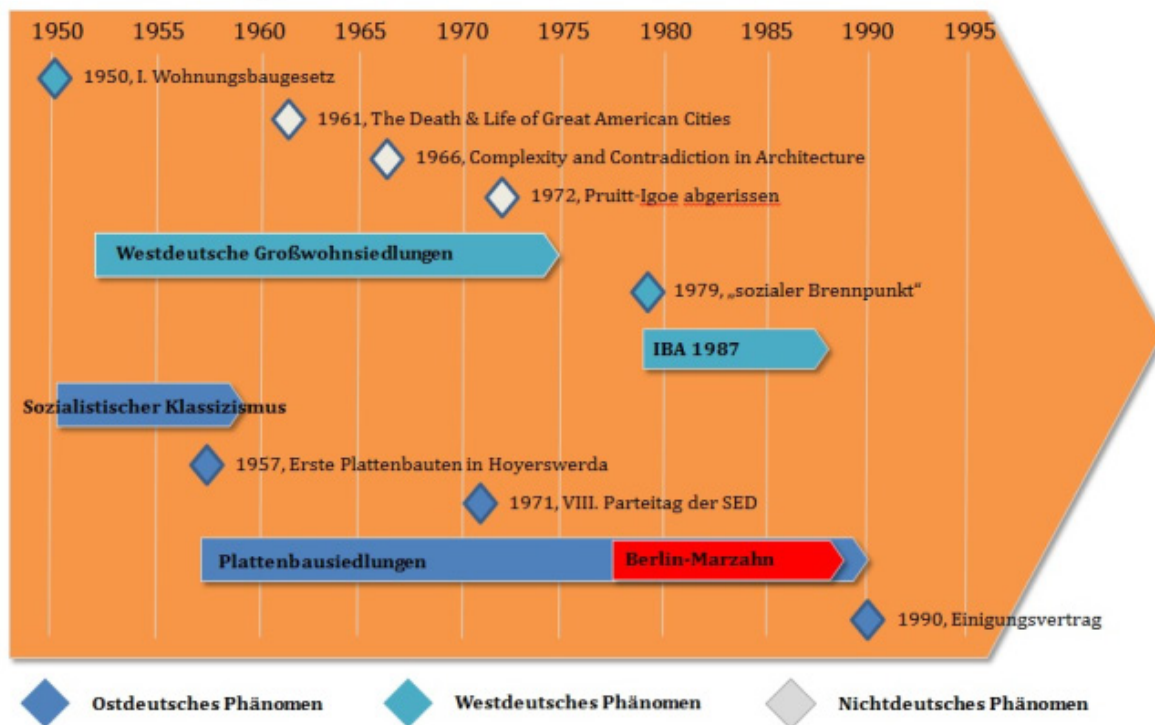


Abb. 1: Entwicklung des Architekturdiskurses. Quelle: Eigene Arbeit

Der Bezirk war während der DDR sehr beliebt, denn „die Wohnungen waren für damalige Verhältnisse sozusagen der höchste Stand, den man erreichen konnte“ (Interview 12, 2011). Deshalb, aber auch wegen der anhaltenden Wohnungsnot, war der Bezirk stark nachgefragt. „Es war ein Leerstand von null. Im Gegenteil, es waren immer, wenn Wohnungen neu gebaut wurden, neue dazu kamen, waren sofort die Mieter vor der Tür und haben die Wohnung bezogen“ (Interview 06, 2011). Da die Wohnungsvergabe in der DDR durch den Staat erfolgte, wurde die gesellschaftspolitische Elite bei der Zuweisung des neuen Wohnraums am Stadtrand bevorzugt, was auch im Bewusstsein der Bevölkerung deutlich verankert war:

Das war also was Besonderes hier draußen. Und weil das was Besonderes war, [...] die Platte, die heute verachtet wird, hat ja bevorzugt die Elite bekommen. Das war so. Parteimitglieder oder die in Staatsnähe gearbeitet haben, haben bevorzugt diese Wohnungen bekommen, und die meisten wohnen ja noch hier (Interview 14, 2011).

Ungeachtet dieses hohen Prestiges, das die Plattenbauten in Ostdeutschland genossen, wurden sie direkt nach der Wiedervereinigung als soziale Brennpunkte stigmatisiert und damit diskursiv wie die Nachkriegswohnanlage Westdeutschlands behandelt. Um die Übertragung dieses Stigmas von West nach Ost zu erklären, soll hier ein zweites Argument ins Feld geführt werden, nämlich die spezifische Art der Wiedervereinigung, die für diese Neubewertung verantwortlich gemacht werden kann.

## **2. Die Art der Wiedervereinigung: Beitritt statt Vereinigung**

Mit der Unterzeichnung des Einigungsvertrags 1990 erlangte der Beitritt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik zur Bundesrepublik Deutschland Rechtmäßigkeit. Die Vereinigung beinhaltete auch eine Ersetzung der institutionellen Systeme der DDR durch die juristischen, politischen und ökonomischen Systeme Westdeutschlands (De Soto, 1996; Häußermann & Strom, 1994; Strom, 2001). Weil pro-westlich eingestellte Bürger in der DDR aus den staatlichen Institutionen in der Regel ausgeschlossen waren, fehlten unter den qualifizierten Bürokraten, dem ausgebildeten Verwaltungspersonal und den Beamten Personen, die mit dem westlichen System vertraut waren oder ihm wohlwollend gegenüber standen. Dies war ein Umstand, der nach der Wiedervereinigung dazu führte, dass beinahe alle dieser Stellen neu und zwar von Westdeutschen besetzt wurden (Für eine detaillierte Beschreibung dieses Vorgangs siehe Strom, 2001, Kap. 4).

Einer der Interviewpartner führt entsprechend aus:

[D]er Senat war weiterhin als Regierung [da], sozusagen in Verantwortung für Ostberlin, und entsprechend waren die Machtpositionen schon verteilt. Es gibt kaum Leute aus dieser ostdeutschen, Ostberliner Übergangsregierung, aus der DDR-Position [sic], aus der Bürgerbewegung, die quasi [in] eine einflussreiche Position in der Baupolitik und der Stadtentwicklungspolitik gekommen sind. Es gibt einzelne Leute, die beim Senat gelandet sind, aber die kann man auf Senatsebene an einer Hand abzählen. Wenn, dann waren es eher Repräsentationsposten auf Bezirksebene. Und dadurch gab es, ganz klar, ein Machtgefälle (Interview 17, 2012).

Die hauptsächlich aus Westdeutschland stammenden Akteure, CDU- und SPD-Politiker der regierenden Koalition von 1990 bis 1995, die damaligen Senatoren Wolfgang Nagel (Bau- und Wohnungswesen), Hans Stimmann (Bausenator), Volker Hassemer (Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz), Stadtplaner Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, der damalige Direktor des Deutschen Architekturmuseums in Frankfurt am Main Vittorio Lampugnani und der führende Stadtsoziologe Hartmut Häußermann waren innerhalb des tief verwurzelten westlichen Paradigmas der Postmoderne ausgebildet und sozialisiert worden (Strom, 2001, Kap. 8). Wenn auch in der späten DDR durchaus präsent, war die Postmoderne im Osten auf ausgewählte neohistoristische Projekte beschränkt gewesen, wie z.B. die Rekonstruktion des Nikolaiviertels oder die Sanierung der Husemannstraße in Ostberlin (Urban, 2009). Durch Planung, Gutachten und Veröffentlichungen dominierten die o.g. Akteure nach der Wende den Architektur- und städtebaulichen Diskurs in Berlin.

Der ausgeprägt postmoderne Standpunkt der Zuständigen stand in direkter Opposition zur ersten aber auch zur zweiten Welle der Moderne, also der Bauhausentwürfe der 1920er- und 1930er-Jahre und der modernistischen Bauformen der 1960er- und 1970er-Jahre. Dies gilt sowohl für Westberlin als auch für Ostberlin in dieser Zeit (Huyssen, 1997; Ladd, 1997, pp. 109 & 110):

Berlin's planners, and the critics and theorists whose lead they follow, have nothing but kind words for the beauty of the estates designed by Wagner, Taut, and their colleagues.

But conventional wisdom sees 1920s modernism as the model for the inferior buildings that followed, especially the postwar plague of concrete high-rises in East and West (Ladd, 1997, pp. 109 & 110).

Diese Einschätzung dokumentiert ein überzeugtes postmodernes Verständnis von Architektur und Stadtplanung und greift im Besonderen Hochhäuser an: “[They] are seen as out of place amid Berlin’s traditional five- to six- storied buildings ... they cast shadows over their surroundings and, when used for housing, increase the anonymity of urban life” (Strom, 2001, p. 140). In seinem Beitrag zu *Ideenwerkstatt Marzahn. Die Zukunft der Großsiedlungen – Zeichen für eine Identität* von 1994, einem von der Senatsverwaltung veröffentlichten Text, zitierte der damals führende Stadtsoziologe Hartmut Häußermann sogar die vorher angesprochene wegweisende postmodernistische Arbeit von Jane Jacobs (*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*) in seiner Kritik der soziologischen Probleme, die monofunktionale Hochhausbebauung mit sich bringt (Häußermann & Siebel, 1994).

Unmittelbar nach der Wende brachten die zuständigen Eliten also nicht nur ihre fachliche Kenntnis des neuen Systems, sondern auch die gesellschaftliche und ästhetische Norm der Postmoderne mit, die im Westen bereits während der 1970er- und 1980er-Jahre völlig ausgereift war. In Westdeutschland hatte man den Bau von Großwohnsiedlungen bereits seit beinahe zwanzig Jahre aufgegeben, was die neuen Zuständigen dazu verleitete, die noch im Bau befindlichen Plattenbausiedlungen zum Zeitpunkt der Wiedervereinigung als rückständig und unzeitgemäß einzustufen. Durch die Entwicklung eines neuen ästhetischen Leitbildes, der *kritischen Rekonstruktion*, gelang es einigen Wenigen, nicht nur die Diskussion um den Bau eines neuen Berlin erfolgreich zu bestimmen, sondern auch ein allumfassendes ästhetisches Leitbild zu schaffen. Dieses war an westlichen ästhetischen Idealen ausgerichtet, an Demokratie, Postmoderne und Kapitalismus. Der Bebauungsplan für das Innenstadtbereich *Planwerk Innenstadt* veranschaulicht dies, das Prinzip schloss allerdings die ganze Stadt mit ein:

Bei diesem Verfahren geht es nicht um das konkrete Problem eines einzelnen Ortes, sondern um die orthodoxe Durchsetzung eines durchgreifenden Prinzips, mit dem im Namen des „steinernen Berlin“ achtzig Jahre Berliner Stadtentwicklung nach dem Imperativ „Licht, Luft, Sonne“ als vollständig verfehlt ausgeschaltet werden können (Hain, 1997, p. 115).<sup>12</sup>

### **3. Analyse des Datenmaterials für Berlin-Marzahn**

Aus dem bislang Dargestellten ergibt sich, dass die historischen Rahmenbedingungen einen semiotischen Wandel aufzeigen, und zwar die Neuverortung vorhandener, ähnlich erscheinender Strukturen in einer aus dem Westen importierten Weltanschauung nach der Wiedervereinigung, die mit der Stigmatisierung von Plattenbauten als soziale Brennpunkte einherging. Dies bestätigte auch einer der befragten Stadtforschungsexperten:

---

<sup>12</sup> Für eine ausführliche Untersuchung zum kritischen Rekonstruktion siehe Hennecke, 2010.

Aus meiner Sicht zu beobachten war, dass nach 1990 die Bewertung der Großwohnsiedlungen so erfolgte, wie die Großwohnsiedlung Märkisches Viertel usw., wo also klar sozialer Wohnungsbau dort war, wo eine Bevölkerungsschicht war, die niedrigen sozialen Status hat, mit einem Haufen Problemen. Und genau das kann man eben nicht übertragen auf die Großwohnsiedlung. Das heißt, damit ist eine völlig andere Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung in diesen Großwohnsiedlungen. Es gibt Untersuchungen für Teile von Marzahn, wo 50% der erwachsenen Personen Hochschulbildung haben. Also eine Situation wie sie in den Großwohnsiedlungen im Märkischen Viertel usw. schier unmöglich ist. Sodass dann aber nach 1990, sozusagen, der Prozess einsetzte. Man hat diese Großwohnsiedlungen genauso bewertet, wie man die Großwohnsiedlung in der Bundesrepublik bewertet. [...] Und daraus entstand dann, ich sag mal in westlicher Betrachtungsweise, also Marzahn ist ganz furchtbar, da leben nur Asoziale und da ist Kriminalität, und das war sogar am Anfang die Idee, man muss ein Teil der Großwohnsiedlung abreißen, weil die sozial so schlecht sind. [...] Das war dann ja auch nicht möglich, weil ja Wohnungsmangel war. Und da war also nicht die Diskussion, wir reißen das ab, weil Leerstand ist, sondern wir wollen das vermindern, weil das sozial schlechte Gebiete sind (Interview 08, 2011).

Die unmittelbare Stigmatisierung dieser Anlagen durch westdeutsche Deutungsmuster führte zu einer neuen, zusätzlichen semantischen Kategorie, der *Platte*: „[...] der Begriff *Platte* an sich wurde zu DDR-Zeiten nicht verwendet. Da sagte man also, es ist die Plattenbautechnologie. Der Begriff *Platte* ist im Prinzip erst vom Westen nach 1990 da reingetragen worden“ (Interview 08, 2011). Innerhalb der letzten gut zwanzig Jahre ist die *Platte* zu einer eigenständigen neuen Kategorie geworden, mit dem Ergebnis, dass in den Interviews die Stigmatisierung nicht allein die charakteristische Beton-Bauweise betrifft, sondern vielmehr die *Platte* als Wohngegend: „Marzahn hat einfach den Ruf, Plattenbausiedlung zu sein“ (Interview 03, 2011). Oder in den Worten eines langjährigen Anwohners: „*Interviewpartner*: Die waren noch niemals in Marzahn, aber wissen natürlich, wie alles hier ist. Solche Leute gibt es auch. *Interviewer*: Ok, und was sagen sie denn so? *Interviewpartner*: Platte. Meistens nichts mehr als Platte“ (Interview 06, 2011).

Gerade weil *Plattenbauten* die beinahe ausschließlich vorherrschende Bauform in Marzahn darstellen, ist der Bezirk besonders stark von diesem Stigma betroffen: „Marzahn setzt man mit den Plattenbaugebieten gleich [...] das Image des Plattenbaubezirks, das hat Marzahn, das klebt an ihm“ (Interview 04, 2011). Zusätzlich ist dieses Bild durch die Medien unterstützt worden:

„Da leidet Marzahn beispielsweise, glaube ich, an der allgemeinen Beschreibung relativ stark unter den Vorurteilen, die sich an ostdeutschen Plattenbauten insofern entwickeln. [...] ich habe das nie systematisch gemacht, aber dann taucht Marzahn z.B. in Beschreibungen in größeren Reportagen auf, dann heißt es, dass [ist] die Arche mit den Kindern, die in Marzahn hungern, dass es Dokumentarfilme gibt, die sehr spezifisches Lebensmilieu zeigen, Hartz IV-Reportagen, und spielen ganz häufig vor diesem Hintergrund von Plattenbauten“ (Interview 02, 2011).

Im Verlauf der 1990er-Jahre wurden in die semiotische Verknüpfung der Plattenbautechnik mit negativen Charakteristika auch Neubauten eingebunden, die mit Großwohnsiedlungen nichts zu tun hatten:

[D]ie wohnen in der Platte und damit ist gleich eine Stigmatisierung gewesen. Das sind sozial Schwache. Und das hat sich u.a. so ausgewirkt, dass nach 1990 eine ganze Reihe von holländischen Baufirmen hierher kam und im Umland oder auch in Teilen Berlin dort Reihenhäuser und Einfamilienhäuser bauen wollten. Und die Niederländer bauen ganz viel in Plattenbautechnologie. Und innerhalb von zwei Tagen steht so ein Haus. Die niederländischen Firmen haben kaum Abnehmer gefunden. Weil, sozusagen, hat mir ein Immobilienmakler, der das auch [beobachtet hat ...] [ge]sagt, weil [die Interessenten sagen] sofort [...] oh das ist ja Platte! In Platte habe ich gewohnt, das will ich nicht. Obwohl der Grundriss ihnen gefallen hat, alles. Aber sie haben ganz viele dieser neuen Bewertungen direkt für die Technologie übernommen und haben damit selbst das Einfamilienhaus oder das Reihnhaus abgelehnt. Das macht also deutlich, wie so das Wertesystem sich für viele völlig verändert hat. Und nicht immer auf einer Grundlage von Rationalität (Interview 08, 2011).

Dieser Übertragungsprozess leitete die Stigmatisierung von Plattenbauten und entsprechenden Wohnsiedlungen ein und festigte die semantische Verknüpfung weiter.

#### **4. Diskussion und Fazit**

Die Daten, die in dem hier zugrundeliegenden Projekt zusammengetragen wurden, legen nahe, dass die Stigmatisierung der Plattenbauten durch eine semiotische Deutungsverschiebung oder -übertragung erklärt werden kann, die ihren Ursprung in der Einführung eines neuen Kaders politischer Sprecher (Bourdieu *legitimate speakers*) hatte (Vgl. Bourdieu, 1992). Zudem wurde das Stigma von oben nach unten, hierarchisch also bekräftigt. Während Mainstream-Medien und Planungsdiskurse die Plattenbausiedlungen als unbewohnbare und feindliche Orte sozialen Niedergangs wahrnahmen und darstellten, war die Zufriedenheit der Bewohner dieser Wohnanlagen gleichzeitig ausgesprochen hoch (Vgl. Großmann, 2009; Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). Die Sanierung der Innenstädte und der Plattenbausiedlungen in Kombination mit der Schaffung neuen Wohnraums in den Vorstädten und der Öffnung des Immobilienmarkts erzeugten allerdings verschiedene „push and pull“-Faktoren für die lokale Bevölkerung. Aufgrund der staatlichen Zuweisung von Wohnraum in der DDR entsprach die Wohnsituation der meisten Haushalte, insbesondere derer in den unsanierten Innenstadtbezirken, nicht unbedingt den persönlichen Vorlieben. Wer unzufrieden war, nutzte die Gelegenheit, welche die Öffnung des Immobilienmarktes 1990 brachte, sofort, seine Wohnsituation zu verbessern. Neue Bauprojekte im Berliner Umland boten dazu hervorragende und attraktive Möglichkeiten. Eben dieser Weggang unzufriedener Anwohner trug mit zu der Konzentration zufriedener Bewohner in den originalen Einwohnerkohorten der Plattenbausiedlungen bei.

Anders als es Untersuchungen des sozialen Wohnungsbaus in Europa tun, kann die Stigmatisierung von Großwohnanlagen in Ostdeutschland in den frühen 1990er-Jahren nicht auf deren Position auf der untersten Stufe des neoliberalen Immobilienmarkts und auf ihre Funktion als Auffangbecken für gesellschaftlich Ausgegrenzte und Unerwünschte zurückgeführt werden. Vielmehr und in direktem Gegensatz zum neoliberalen westlichen Ansatz eines sozialen Wohnungsbaus waren die Großwohnanlagen der sozialistischen Zeit in Ostdeutschland Privilegierten vorbehalten und wiesen in der Regel eine Klassenzusammensetzung auf, wie sie

im Westen unbekannt war (Vgl. hierzu Häußermann & Kapphan, 2004b; Häußermann, 1996a). Daher ist, wie aus den Interviews abgeleitet werden kann, die Stigmatisierung Marzahns eine (zu) einfache Wahrheit, vielmehr handelt es sich um ein von der Wahrnehmung des westdeutschen sozialen Wohnungsbaus ererbtes Stigma. Was für den übrigen europäischen sozialen Wohnungsbau und seine hohe Konzentration von Arbeitslosen, Immigranten und Haushalten mit niedrigem Einkommen gelten mag, wird viel zu allgemein auf den ostdeutschen Wohnungsbau übertragen. Die üblich gewordenen Charakterisierungen führen zu einer Gleichsetzung der Bauform „Großwohnsiedlung“ mit „Sozialbau“ und den daraus resultierenden, neoliberalen sozioräumlichen Segregationsprozessen, die sich in den 1970er Jahren bereits in der westlichen Welt durchzusetzen begannen. Dies zeitigt entsprechende Effekte auch in Ostberlin.

Erklären lässt sich dieser spezifische Übertragungsprozess als Bedeutungsverschiebung im semiotischen Bezugssystem. Mit Hilfe des Saussureschen Zeichenmodells (Chandler, 2007) lässt sich die historische Entwicklung des gegenwärtigen Stigmas veranschaulichen. (Abb. 2)

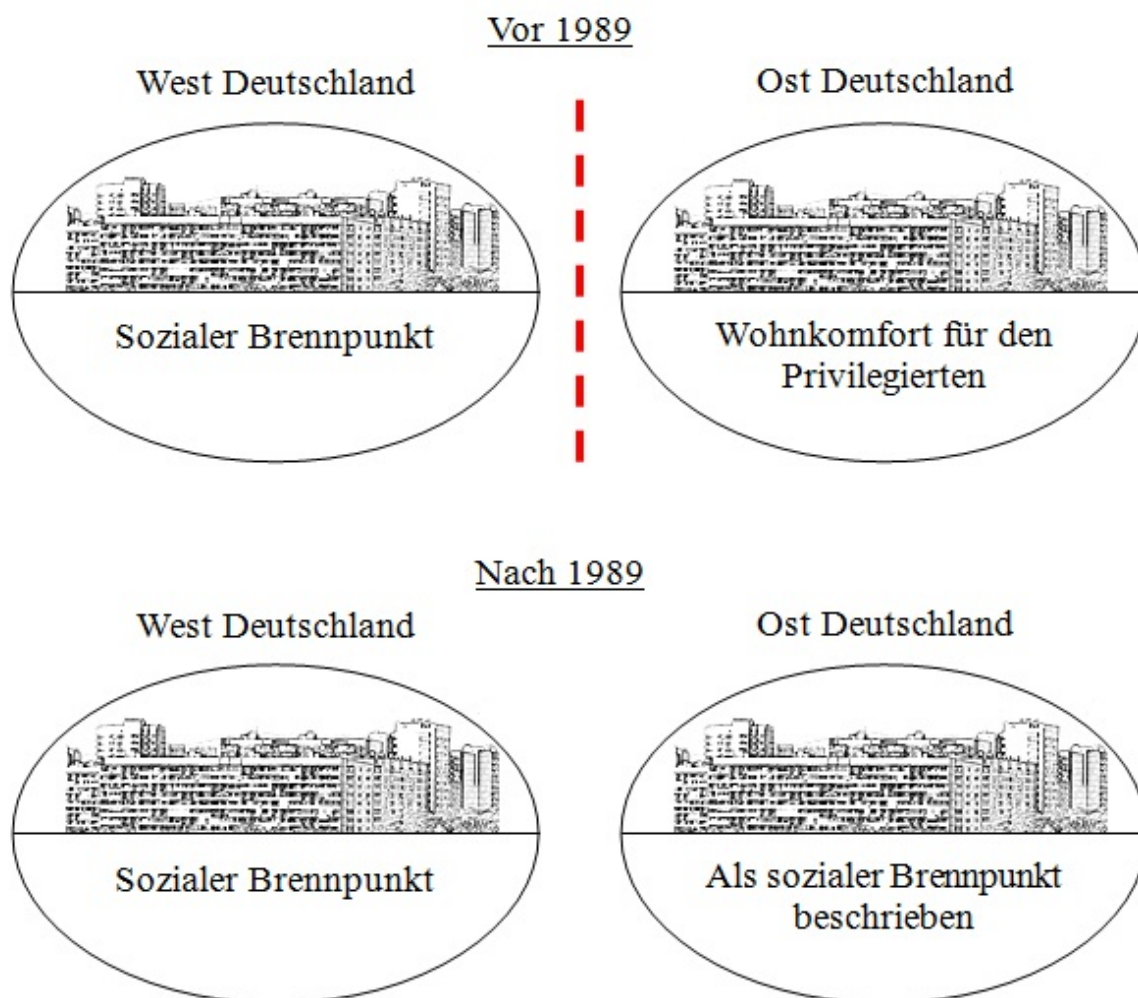


Abb. 2: Schematische Darstellung der semiotischen Übertragung. Quelle: Eigene Arbeit

Die Zuschreibung negativer Attribute durch Presse und Bürokraten ist keinesfalls als absichtliche Böswilligkeit zu werten; vielmehr muss vorausgesetzt werden, dass die Akteure in der Regel das, was sie sahen, durch den Filter ihrer eigenen Erfahrung interpretierten. Der

Tatsache, dass es dem marginalisierten, aber durchaus existenten positiven Diskurs über die Plattenbauten (d.h. zufriedene Äußerungen der Bewohner, positive Charakteristika der Wohnform, Verteidigung der Nachbarschaft) nicht möglich war und auch es ihm immer noch nicht möglich ist, Einfluss auf den Hauptdiskurs über diese Räume zu nehmen, kommt eine nicht unbeträchtliche Signifikanz für die Interpretation der Weltsicht und hegemonialen Verhältnisse nach der Wende zu.

Die Stigmatisierung der Plattenbausiedlungen stellt ebenso wie Straßenbenennung oder andere toponymische Diskurse einen performativen Prozess dar, wie ihn Rose-Redwood, Alderman und Azaryahu als typisch beschreiben: "that calls forth the 'place' to which it refers by attempting to stabilize the unwieldy contradictions of sociospatial processes into the seemingly more 'manageable' order of textual inscription" (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010, p. 454). Auf diese Art und Weise lassen sich die schwer in den Griff zu bekommenden Widersprüche Deutschlands nach der Wiedervereinigung erklären; die Stigmatisierung der Plattenbauten stellt eine Form der Verwestlichung Ostdeutschlands dar. Die semiotische Deutung der Bauform in Mustern des Westens machte es möglich, über Entwicklungen hinwegzusehen, die vierzig Jahre unabhängig vom Westen verlaufen waren, und zu ignorieren, dass die tatsächlichen Gegebenheiten nicht mit dem sie bezeichnenden und zeichnenden Diskurs übereinstimmten. Genau dies konnte für die Stigmatisierung der Plattenbauten in diesem Artikel dargestellt werden.

## Article 3: Urban discourse paradigms in East Berlin after 1989: A critical analysis through two case studies in Berlin

Submission date: June 2013

### Abstract

This paper examines the spatial expression of legal and demographic developments in historic inner-city districts and post-war satellite housing estates in post-reunification East Berlin through the complementary case studies Friedrichshain and Marzahn. The author examined the development of the post-reunification urban discourse paradigms “Altbau” (historic, industrial-era buildings and/or districts) and “Platte” (large-scale post-war housing estates) using grounded theory; empirical data sources included interviews, demographic data, legal texts, and scientific literature. The author established that the temporal development of these two discourse paradigms in Berlin can be divided into 4 distinct time periods, each of which was characterized by different key impulses on a national, local and/or demographic level. The author shows through temporal development that present-day discourse paradigms are the cumulative effect of these impulses and not the self-explanatory resumption of an interrupted development path, as mainstream determinative narratives attempt to imply.

Keywords: Berlin, *Fördergebietsgesetz*, German reunification, spatial segregation, Friedrichshain, Marzahn, *Zwangsumzüge*

### Introduction

Today, more than 20 years after Germany's and Berlin's reunification, the chaotic dynamics of post-*Wende* demographic change, the *Treuhandanstalt*, and property restitution have all become yesterday's news, and gentrification and social segregation have taken their place in the headlines. Medial representations of the eastern half of the city are filled with stories of gentrified inner-city neighborhoods with hip alternative culture housed in individualizable historic buildings contrasted with their discursive counterpart, conformist post-war housing estates full of society's “undesirables”. These discursive patterns are common in urban development and real estate discourses and are often positioned as the indisputable and natural consequence of urban development dynamics; „these days it seems nearly self-evident that Industrial-Revolution-Era historic buildings and inner city areas are cool and livable, and that the Platte is inhuman and hostile” (Interview 12). But in what ways and to what degrees have political, demographic and real estate dynamics since German reunification led to the creation of a determinative paradigm of social segregation? This paper asks the question: *which impulses of the post-reunification period (political, real estate market, demographic, etc.) have led to the entrenchment of urban discourse paradigms in post-reunification East Berlin*<sup>13</sup>?

This paper approaches the following question by building an explanatory model based on demographic statistics, interview material, historic and literature research. Analysis of the empirical data yielded evidence of a temporal development of urban discourse paradigms in East Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall composed of 4 time periods:

---

<sup>13</sup> In the interest of brevity, the term “East Berlin” will be used to refer to the territory formerly known as “Berlin, capital of the GDR”, comprised of the current-day Berlin districts Pankow, Lichtenberg, Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Treptow-Köpenick, and the sub-districts Friedrichshain and Mitte.



1. During Berlin's division,
2. During and directly after reunification,
3. The “reactionary period”, and
4. The “solidification phase”.

Each of the phases is defined by specific impulses on both the national and local levels. The author will illustrate the multi-level historical and political development through quotes, historical material, demographic statistics and timelines of developments. The following sections will examine the spatial and social consequences of the legal and demographic developments in the post-reunification period through the complementary case studies Friedrichshain and Marzahn (figure 21).



Figure 21. Berlin's districts after the district reform of 2001. The case study areas, the sub-districts Friedrichshain & Marzahn, are highlighted. Source: Wikimedia commons.

## Methods

This paper is part of the cumulative dissertation “Urban development paradigms in post-reunification East Berlin, a grounded theory approach”. As inferred by the title, the project relies on the grounded theory method of Glaser and Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and employed a mixed-methods approach over the course of two and a half years that included demographic data analysis, interviews, historical research and discourse analysis. Twenty-one 30- to 90-minute interviews with renter advocacy groups, immigration delegates, urban researchers, and urban planning officials form the core of the empirical material. To support these findings,

triangulation through alternate data sources was conducted (Merriam, 1995), including planning documents, legal documents, newspaper articles, and demographic data. In the following sections, the main impulses of the four time periods will be explained through descriptive quotes from the interviews supported by information from other data sources.

### **The Case Studies**

The case study areas, the Berliner sub-districts Friedrichshain and Marzahn, were selected as complementary former East Berlin districts (figure 21).

Friedrichshain is the eastern sub-district (*Ortsteil*) of the administrative district Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Friedrichshain lies within the Berlin ring train (*Ringbahn*), the main light rail running around the central districts of the city, which roughly follows the boundary of pre-1920 Berlin. Friedrichshain's main growth period took place during Berlin's industrial expansion, known as the *Gründerzeit* (1861-1914) (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002); the built space is therefore dominated by industrial-era historical buildings (*Gründerzeit Altbau*), above all in the extremely popular neighborhoods in the western part of the district around Boxhagener Square, Simon-Dach Street, and Warschauer Street (Düsterwald et al., 1994). The eastern half of the district adjacent to the neighboring district Mitte is spatially dominated by the cold-war era ensemble flanking Karl-Marx Street, erected in the 1950s in the socialist classical style. Friedrichshain is historically a working-class neighborhood (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002), a factor that was supported and reinforced by the presence of industrial centers on the Spree River dividing the district from the sub-district Kreuzberg. Much like other parts of former East Berlin (the best example being the neighboring district of Prenzlauer Berg), the industrial-era historical buildings of this district were largely neglected during the time of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The socio-political allocation of housing during the GDR created a concentration of the elderly and social misfits in the rundown *Altbau* housing stock, which often did not have modern heating, modern bathrooms, or even a toilet in the apartment. Friedrichshain's resident demographic is rapidly changing; the district has become a hotspot of social friction as neglected buildings have been renovated and rent prices have begun to rise above levels payable for the formerly predominantly working-class residents.

Marzahn is a sub-district of the administrative district Marzahn-Hellersdorf and home to the largest slab-built housing complex in Berlin of the same name. Marzahn was incorporated into Berlin in 1920 with the signing of the *Groß-Berlin-Gesetz* (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002; Ladd, 1997), and consisted up until the 1970s of a modest rural village center of the same name; the district Marzahn-Hellersdorf is comprised of 5 such historical rural village centers. At their 8th party congress in 1971, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands – SED*) made the housing shortages in the GDR a main focus of social policy (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002). The first prefabricated apartment buildings in Marzahn were erected in the characteristic slab building style (*Plattenbauweise*) in 1977 in the part of the district adjacent to the neighboring district of Lichtenberg. The complex was under construction until 1989, with each new house progressively further from the city center. Between 1977 and the collapse of the GDR in 1989, 100,000 apartments were built for 220,000 tenants (Hannemann, 2000). The complex consists predominantly of 5- and 11-story apartment buildings centered around transportation nodes and daily-needs infrastructure; the original town green and village center were restored in 1982. During the GDR, the apartments in the district were allocated based on a socio-political hierarchy, with special preference given to workers and young families (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002; Schulz, 2010); the original

resident cohort is therefore relatively homogenous. Post-reunification demographic and real estate market developments led to relatively high vacancy rates in the prefabricated high-rises. High population fluctuation, stigmatization, and consistently low rental prices in Berlin's increasingly tense real estate market have led to a concentration of economically disadvantaged households in the sub-district in recent years (Holm, 2005, 2008, 2011b).

### Temporal Development

The presentation of empirical material follows impulses on 3 different levels: national, local and demographic, as outlined in figure 22 below.

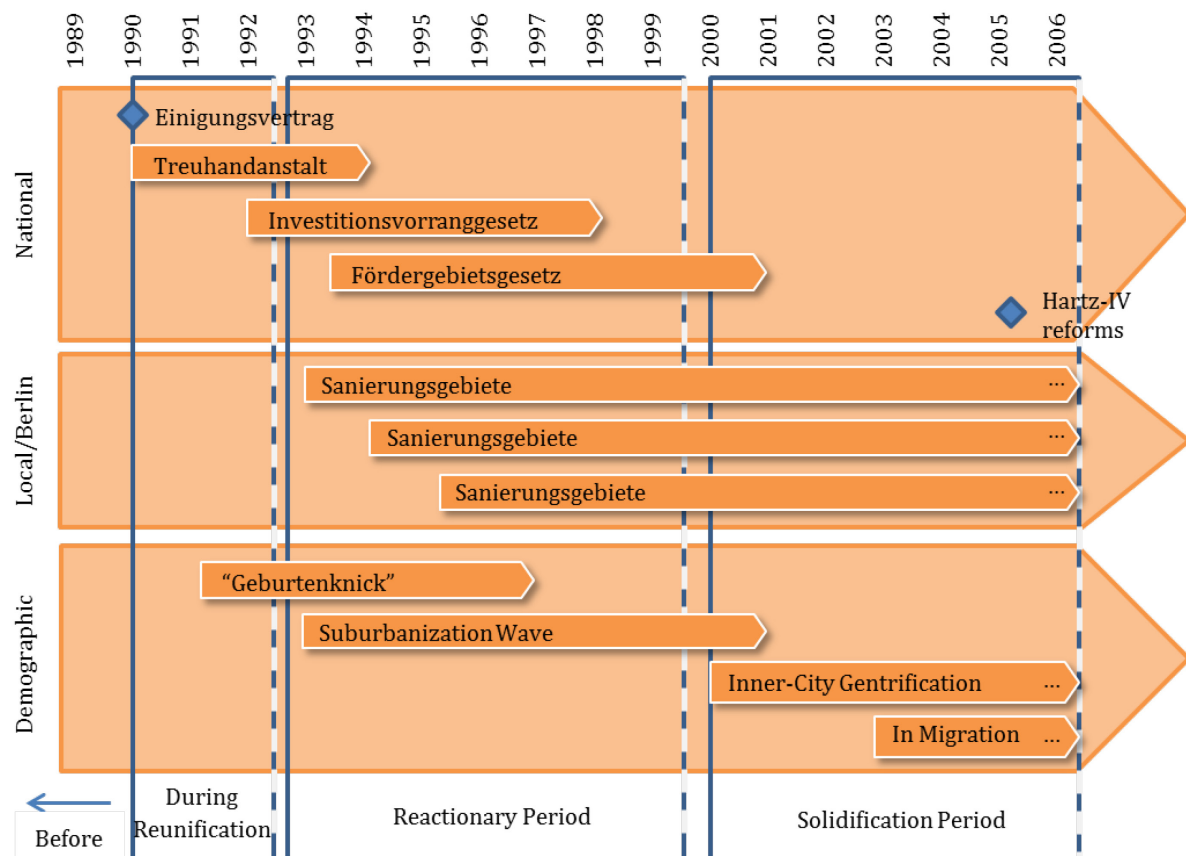


Figure 22. The temporal development of urban discourse paradigms in Berlin. Source: author.

#### Phase 1: Divided Berlin

Post-war housing shortages were a problem throughout Europe. After nearly a decade of socialist classicism in the 1950s, much of which was concentrated in the case study area Friedrichshain, building activity in the GDR shifted towards satellite housing complexes constructed with the newly-developed slab construction technique; the *Gründerzeit Altbau*, unrenovated since the war, were predominantly left to fall into further disrepair. The existing housing shortage was compounded therefore by the loss of housing stock in the inner city as buildings degenerated and became uninhabitable (Schulz, 2010).

According to academic literature, housing was used as a socio-political tool to reinforce conformity to the party line (Häußermann & Kapphann, 2002, pp. 70-71; Schulz, 2010). The highly differential housing stock in Berlin plus governmental housing allocation made this a viable reality which expressed itself in advanced socio-spatial segregation in the 1970s and 80s. While newly-constructed apartments had modern heating and facilities, older housing stock

often still had coal ovens and toilets on the half-landing. New construction was preferentially allocated to young families and workers, most of whom received an assigned apartment in the satellite complexes through their factory, privileged status in the socialist sociopolitical framework, or party affiliations.

918BMarzahn in particular was very popular during the GDR because “the apartments were, for the circumstances ... the best level one could achieve” (Interview 08). The district was therefore, but also because of the continuing housing shortage, in high demand; “there were never any empty apartments. On the contrary, it was always the case, when new apartments were built ... the new tenants were eager to move in immediately” (Interview 06). Because of the state allocation of housing in the GDR, the socio-political elite were preferentially allocated the new housing on the city outskirts; “It was something special out here. And because it was special, the *Platte*, which is stigmatized today, was preferentially given to the elite. That’s a fact. Party members or the people who worked in the administration, they were favored for these apartments, and most of them still live here” (Interview 14). The flipside of this preferential allocation of high-quality housing stock was then the concentration of outsiders and socially discriminated groups in the lower quality housing stock in inner-city areas such as Friedrichshain. According to Hartmut Häußermann, the residents consisted of three basic groups: the socially or politically disenfranchised such as the elderly or political critics, members of the subculture who saw the unrenovated housing stock as an ideal niche in which to unfold their political or artistic concepts, and residents waiting for an allocated apartment in the satellite complexes (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002, pp. 71–72). This also led to the situation that most residents were not living in a housing situation in line with their own preferences, as described below;

*“In the GDR you couldn’t look for an apartment yourself. You also couldn’t decide in which area the apartment was. ... You received a referral for an apartment that you could look at, and it was either in the same district that you were already living in, or it was in one of the new housing complexes, because every district that didn’t have new housing construction had a contingent of apartments in Marzahn, Hohenschönhausen or Hellersdorf. So that, with this allocation method, one had neither control over the size of the apartment, nor the quality, and definitely not the location. ... That means that there were a lot of people living in the districts in 1989 in apartments that were as a rule too small for them, that had a terrible quality in the inner-city, and in an area where they actually sometimes didn’t even want to live.”* (Interview 08)

Smaller apartments were chronically overcrowded, with the number of rooms in the allocated apartment equaling the number of persons in the household minus one, regardless of the layout of the apartment or size of the rooms (Schulz, 2010). Larger apartments, on the other hand, were often lived in by fewer household members, for example by married couples after the children moved out. Because housing policy in the GDR linked rent price with income (rent was 3% of the household income, regardless of apartment size, quality, or location (Schulz, 2010)), households in larger apartments had no incentive to free up these resources and downgrade to a smaller apartment (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002; Schulz, 2010). The continuing housing shortage plus the often contradictory reality of occupancy characterize phase one and the situation in Berlin at the time of reunification. The legal situation surrounding German reunification brought with it however new complications that prevented the expedient solution of these problems.

### *Phase 2: During and directly after reunification*

In phase two, the most important impulse was the legal goals and framework surrounding the political and economic realities of reunification. By far the most important document in the legal situation surrounding the post-reunification period is the *Einigungsvertrag* (unification contract) (EinigVtr, 1990). In addition to setting the legal framework for the accession of the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the privatization of the communal property of the GDR, the unification contract also set the conceptual direction for the development of the new German states. Paragraph 28 of the unification contract is concerned with economic promotion (*Wirtschaftsförderung*), and outlines several goals, including “the development of a balanced economic structure as fast as possible with special consideration for the middle class” and “measures to speed up economic growth and structural transition in the new states” (EinigVtr, 1990, §28). In practice, these political objectives were translated into three concrete goals: increasing the amount of property ownership, economic stimulation, and solving the housing crisis. The policy measures put into place directly after reunification had however mixed results in achieving these goals. The guiding impulse of this phase is property restitution as outlined in the unification contract and explicated by property restitution law of 1990.

By far the most difficult complication regarding the housing shortage and increase in property ownership levels was brought about by the *Vermögensgesetz* (property restitution law) of 1990 (VermG, §1, in particular Abs. 1 & 6), which provided for the restitution of property seized by the national socialists (NS) and/or the GDR;

*“It started directly after reunification. Back then I was already working with renter advocacy, and we were concerned with property issues. To whom do the buildings belong? We had a lot of Jewish property [here in Friedrichshain (MD)], which was difficult because the families and their descendants were spread all over the world in some cases, so that the buildings had to be managed by third parties [and couldn’t be renovated (MD)] until the real owners could be found... Nothing could be done before then because the restitution wasn’t complete.” (Interview 11)*

The property restitution law of 1990 was intended to both increase the amount of individual property in East Germany (and thus support the development of the middle class) and undo wrongs brought about by the NS and GDR regimes. It was however not uncommon to have multiple claims for a single property, as property that was seized may have changed owners in the meantime. Particularly problematic was the restitution of property from NS seizures, which lay in some cases more than 60 years in the past. As indicated by the interview partner, property owners were often widely strewn, and the original single owner was in many cases now a group of his or her descendants (Goschler & Lillteicher, 2002).

Restitution unfortunately hindered both the increase in property levels and the alleviation of the housing crisis, as described in the following quote:

*“So the decision that was reached was that the property should be returned to the original owners instead of monetary compensation or user privatization, as happened in other eastern European countries. It was argued that this was historically just. ... And then restitution was implemented and that meant, first things first, that the owners had to be found. And that meant that many buildings didn’t have clear owners for many years, and then when they were finally found, that they actually had no idea what to do with this property.” (Interview 17)*

Restitution created a significant bottleneck in achieving the overarching goals of privatization, increasing property ownership, solving the housing crisis and economic stimulation. In phase three, several laws were put into place to alleviate this situation and speed up the restructuring process.

### *Phase 3: The “reactionary period”*

The housing shortage in Berlin and the new states persisted into the early 90s. In addition, the complicated ownership questions raised by restitution hindered the expeditious achievement of the overarching goals set out in paragraph 28 of the unification contract, in particular through delays in both the renovation of historic housing and the implementation of speedy economic development and restructuring. For this reason, several national laws were put into place in the early 90s to better achieve the overarching goals of increasing property levels, solving the housing shortage, and stimulating the economy. At the same time, urban redevelopment areas (*Sanierungsgebiete*) were established in Berlin on a local administrative level. Both these actions were based in part on population estimates that turned out to be inaccurate. These impulses characterize phase three: the “reactionary period”.

“The early 90s were characterized on a legal level by a range of laws that were intended to remove barriers to investment” (Interview 17); the first of the laws enacted during this time was the *Investitionsvorrangsgesetz* (investment priority law) (InVorG, 1992). Implemented in 1992, this law provided a solution for property questions created by restitution, and aided in the speeding up of economic growth and structural transition in the new states, as provided for in the unification contract. The investment priority law provided a way around the bottleneck by allowing economic development of areas still pending restitution as long as the plans provided housing, jobs and/or infrastructural development (Maurer et al., 1991; von der Heyden, 1995); monetary remuneration was then provided to the owners once the legal details had been cleared. This significantly expedited development, though many of the promised jobs never appeared or were lost in the 1993 global recession (Schulz, 2000).

The second significant legal impulse of this time period was the *Fördergebietsgesetz* (development area law) (FöGbG, 1993). Implemented in September 1993, the law provided a tax break of up to 50% through the construction of new housing in the new states and was intended to both solve the housing crisis and stimulate the economy, above all in the construction sector;

*“...everyone who invested in housing construction in the new states could use half of the sum that he or she had invested to reduce his or her tax burden. Lots of new housing was created in this way during the time period that the law was in effect, so from 1992 to 1997, by people who had a large tax burden.”* (Interview 08)

The law was neither spatially restricted nor was connected to areas where housing shortages were a problem; “it made [building] in the East extremely lucrative. Even in places where there wasn’t any demand at all” (Interview 12). In addition, the law was extremely “successful”; many people took advantage of it, leading to a housing overhang in some areas.

Both sides of Berlin had experienced little or no postwar suburbanization because of the city’s specific historical situation; West Berlin had been surrounded by the GDR and therefore had no backland, and East Berlin’s development had been determined by the state (Schulz, 2000). The privatization and restitution of surrounding land in the neighboring state of Brandenburg that

had been used for communal farming (LPG - *Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaft*) during the city's division could be rapidly designated as building land. This, combined with the significant tax provisions of the *Fördergebietsgesetz* and the continuing housing shortage in the city, led to a substantial wave of suburbanization (Düsterwald et al., 1994; Schulz, 2000).

Meanwhile, on a local administrative level, several *Sanierungsgebiete* (urban renovation areas) were established to rehabilitate the derelict buildings in the eastern half of the inner city. Due to the housing and building policy of the GDR, which concentrated above all in the latter years on new construction in satellite housing complexes, the inner-city districts were in an advanced state of disrepair. Based on this fact, the urban redevelopment areas of the early 1990s were primarily established in the eastern part of the city. These areas were designated in 3 *Verordnungen* (administrative orders) during this period. This first one, set into place in September 1993, established 5 urban redevelopment areas, 4 of which were in the eastern inner-city districts (Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg & Friedrichshain) (Stadtverwaltung Berlin, 1993). The second order, in November of the following year, established 11 areas, 5 of which were in the eastern inner-city districts (Stadtverwaltung Berlin, 1994). Lastly, in October 1995, 6 further areas were established, only one of which was in the eastern inner-city districts (Stadtverwaltung Berlin, 1995) (table 6).

**Table 6. Establishment of urban redevelopment areas in Berlin in the early 90s. Areas in Eastern districts are marked in gray, those in the inner-city districts are marked in a darker shade of gray.**

<u>Proclamation</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Urban Redevelopment Areas</u>
Neunte Verordnung über die förmliche Festlegung von Sanierungsgebieten	21. Sep 93	1. Sanierungsgebiet Mitte – Spandauer Vorstadt
		2. Sanierungsgebiet Prenzlauer Berg – Helmholtzplatz
		3. Sanierungsgebiet Prenzlauer Berg – Kollwitzplatz
		4. Sanierungsgebiet Friedrichshain – Samariterviertel
		5. Sanierungsgebiet Köpenick – Altstadt/Kietz Vorstadt
Zehnte Verordnung über die förmliche Festlegung von Sanierungsgebieten	18. Nov 94	1. Sanierungsgebiet Mitte – Rosenthaler Vorstadt
		2. Sanierungsgebiet Tiergarten – Beusselstraße
		3. Sanierungsgebiet Prenzlauer Berg – Teutoburger Platz
		4. Sanierungsgebiet Prenzlauer Berg – Winsstraße
		5. Sanierungsgebiet Friedrichshain – Warschauer Straße
		6. Sanierungsgebiet Friedrichshain – Traveplatz-Ostkreuz
		7. Sanierungsgebiet Treptow – Niederschöneweide
		8. Sanierungsgebiet Lichtenberg – Kaskelstraße
		9. Sanierungsgebiet Lichtenberg – Weitlingstraße
		10. Sanierungsgebiet Weißensee – Komponistenviertel
		11. Sanierungsgebiet Pankow – Wollankstraße
Elfte Verordnung über die förmliche Festlegung von Sanierungsgebieten	25. Okt 95	1. Sanierungsgebiet Tiergarten – Stephankiez
		2. Sanierungsgebiet Wedding – Soldiner Straße
		3. Sanierungsgebiet Prenzlauer Berg – Bötzowstraße
		4. Sanierungsgebiet Neukölln – Kottbusser Damm Ost
		5. Sanierungsgebiet Neukölln – Wederstraße
		6. Sanierungsgebiet Köpenick – Oberschöneweide

One of the main problems with the variety of measures taken on a national level during this time is that they were based on assumptions that Berlin would grow demographically and



economically as a result of reunification and the return of the German capital from Bonn. Expectations of a “second economic miracle” were common (von der Heyden, 1995), as exemplified by the following quote:

*“A really important factor for the debates about Berlin was the expectation at the beginning of the 90s that Berlin was going to become an unbelievably important metropolis unbelievably quickly. The expectation back then was that Berlin was going to grow by 1.5 million people by 2010, from 3.5 million [to 5 million (MD)] – so, wild growth. And there were one or two years in which no idea was too crazy to be taken seriously ... It was like being in the middle of a hurricane somehow” (Interview 17).*

The economic and demographic reality was of course very different from expectations. Above all, the work of the *Treuhandanstalt*, the trust company charged with the privatization of the state property of the GDR, and its consequences created significant push factors for large parts of the population. East German industry had of course been part of the state-run planned economy of the GDR, and had therefore not been exposed to market-based competition. The quality of the infrastructure was poor, and the machines and facilities were often outdated (von der Heyden, 1995). Many companies could neither be privatized nor rehabilitated to market standards and had to be liquidated. The loss of jobs was dramatic. When the *Treuhand* closed in 1994, 1,575,000 of the 3,500,000 jobs in East Germany remained, a loss of 55% (von der Heyden, 1995, p. 46). Emigration from East Germany in the 1990s was dramatic; the collapse of East German industry surely played a significant role in these developments, and the loss of residents had significant effects on the landscape (Dellenbaugh & Haase, 2014).

In Berlin, the situation was not nearly as dire as in rural areas and in the rest of the new states. Berlin’s population grew in the early 90s, for the most part due to a strong wave of in-migration (figures 23 & 25). Birth rates dropped during the same time, a phenomenon known as the “Geburtenknick” (birth rate slump) (figure 24) (Schulz, 2000).

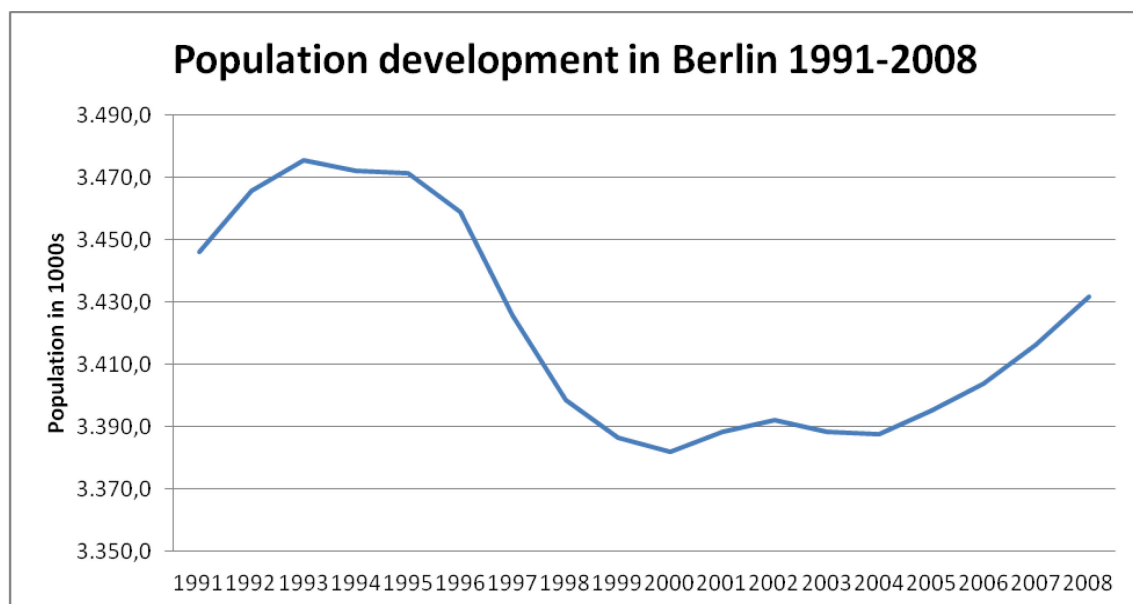


Figure 23. Population development in Berlin, 1991-2008. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg.



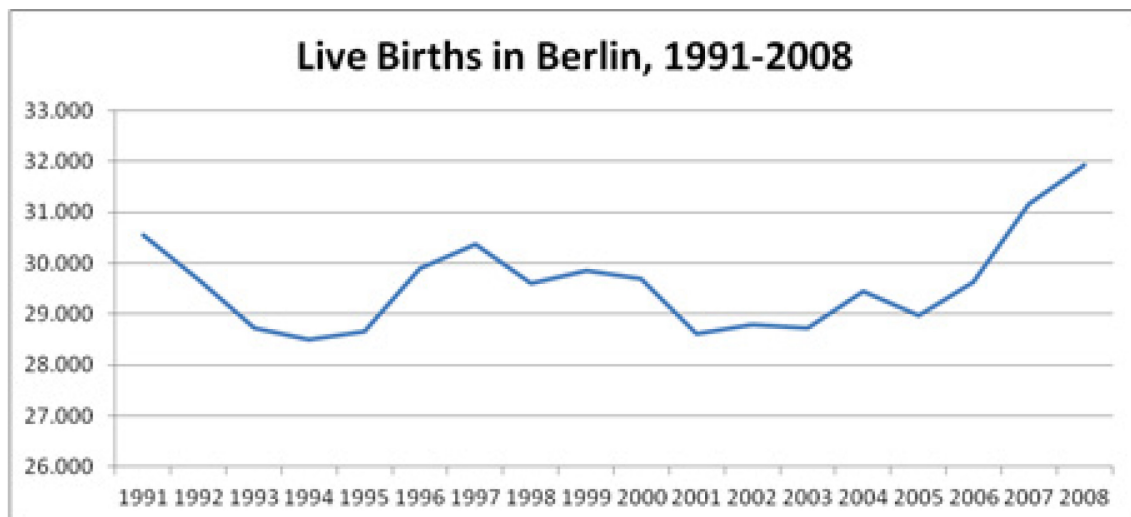


Figure 24. Live births in Berlin, 1991-2008. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg.

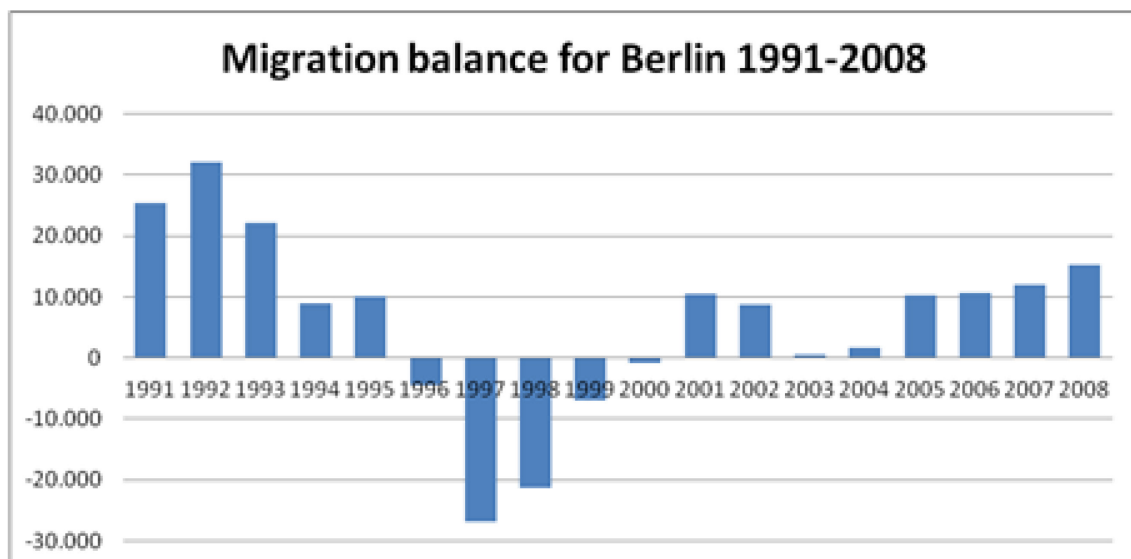


Figure 25. Migration balance for Berlin, 1991 - 2008. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg.

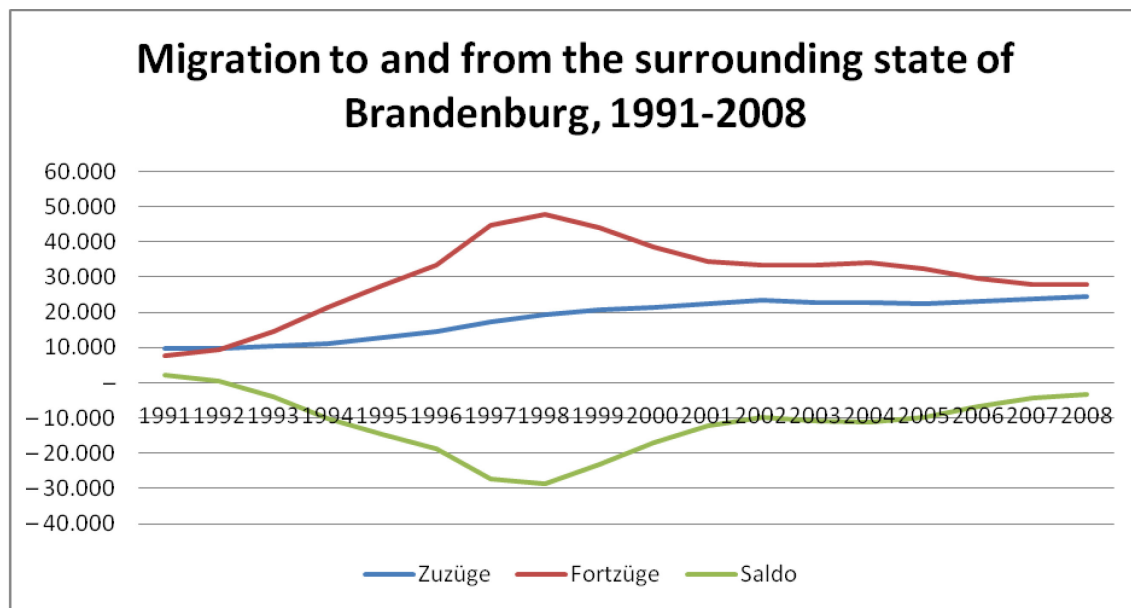


Figure 26. Migration to and from Berlin from the surrounding state of Brandenburg, 1991-2008. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg.

Starting in the mid-90s, Berlin experienced a strong wave of out-migration, leading to a negative migration balance through the second half of the decade (figure 25). A closer look at the migration to and from the neighboring state of Brandenburg shows a clear pattern of suburbanization (figure 26). The delays created by restitution and the continuing dearth of appropriate housing choices in the city created a significant push factor, and the creation of new housing in the neighboring hinterland a significant pull factor that in combination led to a wave of suburbanization that drained the city of residents (figure 26).

#### *Phase 4: The “solidification phase”*

The dynamics of the early 90s paved the way for the rapid solidification of urban discourse paradigms in Berlin. While the real estate market remained relaxed throughout the 90s, positive population development since 2000, inner-city gentrification, and the 2005 change in federal welfare law have created a “segregation motor” (Holm, 2011b), characterized by a range of push and pull factors disproportionately affecting low-earning and welfare-recipient households.

The urban redevelopment areas in the eastern inner-city districts were structurally a raging success. Industrial-era buildings in districts such as Prenzlauer Berg, Friedrichshain and Mitte, a large percentage of which at the time of reunification had neither modern heating nor a bathroom in the apartment, were modernized; the historic city structure and historical buildings were to a large extent preserved in these efforts. The social effects of urban redevelopment were less positive. The social intension of redevelopment was to preserve the heterogeneous resident structure, including as many original residents as possible. Indeed, in the majority of cases, the original residents did not return after renovation and modernization was complete (Bernt & Holm, 2002; Holm, 2006a, 2006b, 2010). The effects of modernization and the widespread overturn of the resident base was an extremely rapid gentrification which quickly spread beyond the urban redevelopment areas themselves;

*“Just to explain how fast these things can change, at the end of the 90s I was living on Helmholtzplatz in Prenzlauer Berg (in one of the today most gentrified urban redevelopment areas (MD)) ... At the end of the 90s, the city enacted a district management area (Quartiersmanagementgebiet) here because they were the opinion that this neighborhood is becoming a slum ... It was completely incomprehensible that these areas could become chic. They were normal residential areas with the typical social problems connected with Berliner tenements. That’s completely different from the discussion that we have today. And that is only a little more than 10 years ago.” (Interview 08)*

The main side effect of modernization, increased rental prices for renovated housing, combined with the welfare reforms of 2005 increased the speed of gentrification and sociospatial segregation, in particular through the displacement of low-earner and welfare-recipient households. The welfare reforms of 2005 (colloquially called *Hartz-IV*) removed the connection between wage rates and housing benefits, instead setting an absolute limit on the coverage of rental payments based on household size (Holm, 2011b). In the case that the rental cost burden rises above the set limit for cost defrayment, the household has 6 months to “reduce their rental cost burden” (Holm, 2011b). Renegotiations of rental contracts are rare; reduction in this sense translates in almost all cases to moving to a less expensive apartment. In-migration since 2005 has compounded the problem by increasing demand and competition for an already scarce supply of rental objects (figure 25) (Holm, 2008). The increase in demand plus high dynamism in the rental market, above all in the inner city, have continuously driven the prices for new rental contracts to new highs (Holm, 2012). This has, in turn, led to the displacement of welfare-recipient households as rental prices rise above the mandated rental cost supplement (Holm, 2008, 2011b), as described in the quote below:

*“Interviewee: A lot of people had to move [out of Friedrichshain (MD)] as a result of the rental price development, because they just couldn’t afford it anymore. They were forced out to the postwar housing estates on the edge of the city. The rent prices for some places out there are even offered as “Hartz-IV compatible”. ...*

*Interviewer: Were there specific groups that had to move away or were forced out?*

*Interviewee: Well, as a rule it was the unemployed, especially those who don’t have work and don’t have a chance to get back into the workforce. Because through the rising rental prices the welfare office says ‘we give you this 378€ and that’s it.’ And when rent costs 450€, how can you pay it with Hartz-IV? It’s not possible.” (Interview 16)*

The displacement effects described in the quote above have a dispersed effect. At the beginning of the 2000s, the displacement of low-earning and welfare-receiving households did not have a direct, immediate or traceable effect on Marzahn or even on the large-scale housing estates in general, as the real estate market was still relatively relaxed. As the housing market began to heat up in the middle of the decade, empirical research began to show the direct displacement of low-earning and welfare households from the inner city districts (including Friedrichshain) into the postwar housing estates (including Marzahn) (Holm, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2011b).

The net household income for the district of Friedrichshain paints a clear picture of district valorization; over the 10 years between reunification and the district reform (at which point Friedrichshain was fused with the neighboring district of Kreuzberg), the number of households with less than 1000 DM (~500€) net income dropped from 28% to 0%. The number of households in the lower three brackets, i.e. the households with a net income of less than 2500

DM (~1250€) dropped from 72% in 1991 to just 45% in 2000. In the same time period, the portion of households earning over 4000 DM (~2000€) after taxes grew from 0% in 1991 to 21% in 2000; those earning in the top bracket, over 5000 DM per month (~2500€), grew from 0% to 12% in this time period (figure 27).

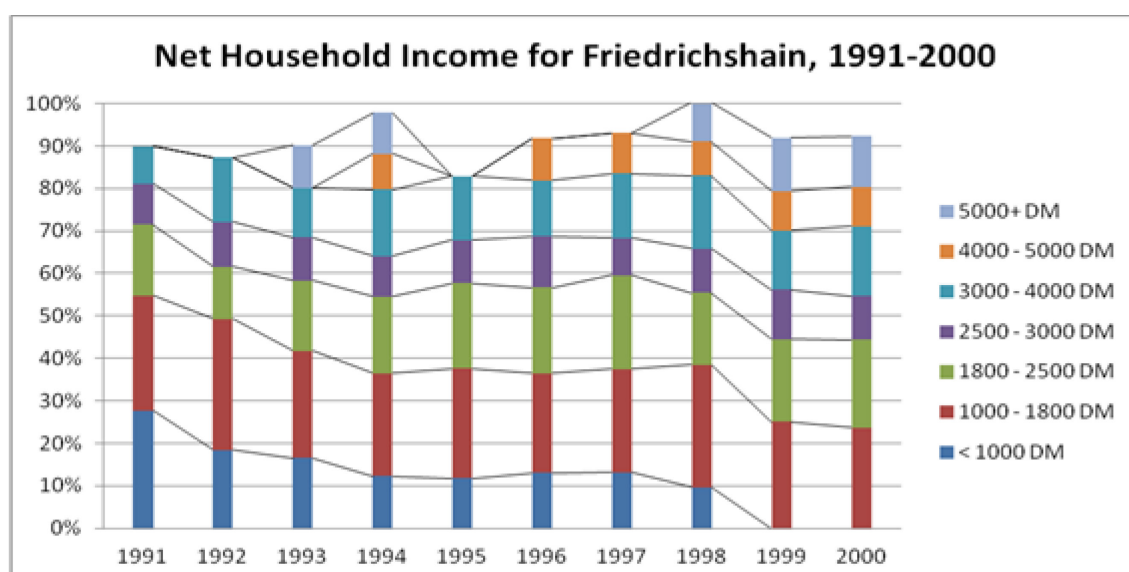


Figure 27. Net household income for Friedrichshain, 1991-2000. Data source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg.

Due to the district fusion of 2000/2001, it is unfortunately not possible to trace the net household income development beyond 2000 in either Friedrichshain or Marzahn. However, the valorization and gentrification of Friedrichshain described by the interview partners can be supported by the data up to 2000, and recent press reports support assertions of displacement of welfare households from the inner-city areas to the post-war housing estates, including Marzahn (Anker, 2008; Fahrur, 2011; Holm, 2004; “Immer mehr Zwangsumzüge,” 2012; Rietz, 2011). In Berlin’s meanwhile tense real estate market, only certain segments are still “Hartz-IV compatible”, either low-quality housing in the inner city (a segment that is rapidly dwindling) or housing on the outskirts of the city; in the eastern half of the city, this means unrenovated or low quality inner-city housing or the postwar satellite housing complexes such as Marzahn.

## Discussion

The conditions of the housing situation in Berlin at the time of reunification and the good intentions of restitution created even more pressure on an already tense situation. A persistent housing shortage plus the legal bottleneck of property restitution made the achievement of the goals set out in the reunification contract difficult if not nearly impossible. In an attempt to rapidly alleviate the problem, several national laws were simultaneously put into effect during the “reactionary period” (the investment priority law, the development area law) that expedited the achievement of these goals. The combined effects of national and local administrative measures (i.e. the urban redevelopment areas) in Berlin meant rapid development in several sectors at once in the early and mid-1990s.

Urban redevelopment in combination with the creation of new housing and the opening of the real estate market created several push and pull factors for the local population. As previously stated, due to the state allocation of housing, most households, and particularly those in the unrenovated inner-city districts, were not living in a situation that matched their preferences.

The three main groups living in unrenovated tenement housing (the elderly, the subculture, and those waiting for suitable housing (following Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002) followed different paths in the wake of building and redevelopment. Those who had the choice and means rapidly moved out of the substandard housing in the inner-city; new construction in Berlin's hinterland provided a salient and attractive housing alternative. Those who did not have the means but were living in urban redevelopment areas (in particular, the elderly) were relocated to other areas during redevelopment, with the option to return once renovation was completed. However, as exemplarily shown through the example of redevelopment areas in the neighboring district of Prenzlauer Berg, these relocation measures ultimately led to widespread and permanent turnover in the district population, up to 90% in some areas (Holm, 2006a).

In the logic of a neoliberal political and economic framework, the immaterial worth of goods is determined to some extent through demand and price level on the free market through a form of hierarchy; goods and services are positively valued through high demand and therefore high prices or negatively valued through low demand and therefore low prices. Interpreted through this logical framework, the inner-city areas gain an increased positive valuation through their high demand and rising prices. However, the increase in rental prices in the inner-city has not only been determined by demand, but also by increase in quality through modernization and renovation and high market dynamism, which has allowed a faster incremental increase in rental prices. In addition, Andrej Holm has recently shown that supply, in particular of small apartments, in Berlin is far outmatched by demand (Holm, 2008); positive population development due to in-migration since the middle of the last decade and the illegal use of small apartments for vacation rentals (above all in popular districts such as Friedrichshain) compound this problem.

The thorough understanding of the development of urban discourse paradigms is strongly contrasted with entrenched determinist, postmodern discourses about Berlin, such as the key work in the area of urban sociology, *Berlin: von der geteilten zur gespaltenen Stadt?: sozialräumlicher Wandel seit 1990* (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002). These discourses, in combination with neoliberal market logic, suggest an implicit link between built space form and the lifestyle form that flourishes there, as well as socially-acceptable built space and lifestyle forms. This was abundantly clear from interviews with higher-ranking administrators and well-known researchers alike, where comments like the following were not uncommon:

**“Interviewee:** *For the last senate building director who worked here, the Plattenbau complexes were nothing where he could imagine that a decent life was possible.*

**Interviewer:** *And in Friedrichshain?*

**Interviewee:** *Much more so.”* (Interview 03)

Indeed, the current-day situation represents a semantic reversal of pre-reunification discourses, in which the postwar housing complexes were hegemonically positively valued<sup>14</sup> and the derelict inner-city districts represented the lowest rung on a sociopolitical housing allocation ladder. Through the opening of the housing market, dynamic demographic changes in the early 1990s, and the chaotic and at times contradictory legal situation surrounding housing, building and modernization in Berlin, it was possible for many rapid and simultaneous changes to take place in several sectors at once. In this way, building activity in Berlin's hinterland and resulting

---

<sup>14</sup> For an extensive discussion of the discursive construction of East German postwar housing complexes in post-reunification Berlin, please see Dellenbaugh, 2013.

suburbanization occurred parallel to the renovation of inner-city districts; an overall loss in population at the same time offset the temporary loss of housing stock during modernization efforts. Vacancy rates in the eastern part of the city remained high throughout the 1990s, tapering off as gentrification progressively increased as a result of urban redevelopment.

Up until phase four, Friedrichshain and Marzahn were districts with both positive and negative characteristics and descriptors. In the early 2000s, the immediacy of housing, modernization, and the results of reunification were finally beginning to wane. The author argues that the new orientation on creative industries (Berliner Senatskanzlei für kulturelle Angelegenheiten, 2011; medienboard Berlin-Brandenburg GmbH & ZukunftsAgentur Brandenburg, 2011; Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft Technologie und Frauen, 2005), city branding (Häußermann & Colomb, 2003) and knowledge-based economy (Helbrecht, 2004; Holm, 2012) was one of the main factors in the solidification of urban discourse paradigms; “Friedrichshain has *Altbau* buildings, while Marzahn doesn’t have any. And *Altbau* buildings are just better suited to certain lifestyles than these standardized housing estates” (Interview 09). The focus on “selling” an image of the city necessitates the crystallization of that image in a type of “brand”. Thus, the solidification of urban discourse paradigms is a chicken-and-egg problem: Berlin’s historically-determined dearth of productive industry necessitated a capitalization on immaterial worth, which caused a popularity boom in the “creative” inner-city districts. This popularity boom plus neoliberal welfare reforms led to increased sociospatial segregation and the concentration of low-income and welfare-recipient households in remaining affordable housing, much of which is, in the eastern half of the city, located in the postwar housing estates such as Marzahn. In this way, the immediate stigmatization of the *Plattenbauten* following reunification (following Dellenbaugh, 2014a) was reinforced through actual demographic and urban developments, and the popularity of inner-city districts in the eastern half of the city such as Friedrichshain were underlined through administration-backed marketing and branding efforts.

## Conclusion

The narrative presented in this paper has attempted to illustrate the various factors at work in the development of current-day Marzahn and Friedrichshain, but also the larger development of Berlin as a whole. The goal of this research was to create an explanatory model for current day discourse paradigms in Berlin. As demonstrated, the solidification of these paradigms didn’t occur until Berlin’s administration began to compete with marketing and branding measures, at which point the need to crystallize an image necessitated the solidification and concentration of existing paradigms.

The patterns of gentrification and sociospatial segregation described above all for phase four show no signs of tapering off and indeed seem to be gaining speed as continuing in-migration and tourism increases pressure on the already tense housing market in Friedrichshain and other popular inner-city districts. The result of these developments is the further displacement of low-earner and welfare-recipient households to the outskirts, and the further entrenchment of the stigmatization of these districts.

## Sources

- Aalbers, M. B. (2006). "When the Banks Withdraw, Slum Landlords Take Over": The structuration of neighbourhood decline through redlining, drug dealing, speculation and immigrant exploitation. *Urban Studies*, 43(7), 1061–1086.
- Aalbers, M. B. (2007). What types of neighbourhoods are redlined? *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 22(2), 177–198.
- Aalbers, M. B., & Rancati, S. (2008). Feeling Insecure in Large Housing Estates: Tackling Unsicherheit in the Risk Society. *Urban Studies*, 45(13), 2735–2757.
- Abraham, K. G., & Houseman, S. (1995). Earnings inequality in Germany. In R. B. Freeman & L. F. Katz (Eds.), *Differences and Changes in Wage Structures* (pp. 371 – 404). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Alasuutari, P. (1995). *Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Alderman, D. H. (2003). Street names and the scaling of memory: the politics of commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr within the African American community. *Area*, 35(2), 163–173.
- Altrock, U., Huning, S., Kuder, T., Nuissl, H., & Peters, D. (2010). Symbolische Orte in der Stadtentwicklung. In U. Altrock, S. Huning, H. Nuissl, & D. Peters (Eds.), *Symbolische Orte. Planerische (De-)Konstruktionen* (Reihe Plan., pp. 7–19). Kassel: Universität Kassel.
- AltSchG. (1993). Gesetz über Altschuldenhilfen für Kommunale Wohnungsunternehmen, Wohnungsgenossenschaften und private Vermieter in dem in Artikel 3 des Einigungsvertrages genannten Gebiet (Altschuldenhilfe-Gesetz).
- Andersen, N. A. (2003). *Discursive Analytical Strategies: Understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., & Szelenyi, I. (Eds.). (1996). *Cities After Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-Socialist Societies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Anker, J. (2008, March 4). 680 Zwangsumzüge wegen Hartz IV. *Berliner Morgenpost*. Berlin. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article167228/680-Zwangsumzuege-wegen-Hartz-IV.html>
- Anzahl der Zwangsumzüge in Berlin offenbar kleingerechnet. (2012, November 2). *Berliner Umschau*. Berlin. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://www.berlinerumschau.com/news.php?id=56240&title=Anzahl+der+Zwangsumzüge+in+Berlin+offenbar+kleingerechnet&storyid=1001341236519>

- Århem, K. (1998). Powers of place: landscape, territory and local belonging in Northwest Amazonia. In N. Lovell (Ed.), *Locality and belonging* (pp. 78–103). London: Routledge.
- Arthurson, K. (2004). From stigma to demolition: Australian debates about housing and social exclusion. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19(3), 255–270.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1998). *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Ataman, F. (2009). Staatsbesuch in Little Istanbul. *Tagesspiegel*. Berlin. Retrieved from <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/staatsbesuch-in-little-istanbul/1474666.html>
- Augé, M. (2008). *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity* (2nd ed.). London: Verso.
- Aunesluoma, J., & Kettunen, P. (Eds.). (2008). *The Cold War and the Politics of History*. Helsinki: Edita Publishing Ltd.
- Azaryahu, M. (1997). German reunification and the politics of street names: The case of East Berlin. *Political Geography*, 16(6), 479–493.
- Azaryahu, M. (2011). The Critical Turn and Beyond: The Case of Commemorative Street Naming. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 10(1), 28–33.
- Azaryahu, M., & Kellerman, A. (1999). Symbolic places of national history and revival: a study in Zionist mythical geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24(1), 109–123.
- Bahrman, H., & Links, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Am Ziel vorbei. Die deutsche Einheit - Eine Zwischenbilanz*. Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag.
- Barti, A. (2008). *“Geschenk für die Seele des Volkes” herrschaftliche Architektur befriedet das Volk?! : Eine politikwissenschaftliche Untersuchung der Berliner Schlossplatzdebatte von ihren Anfängen bis zur Bundestagsentscheidung 2002*. Freie Universität Berlin.
- Becker-Cantarino, B. (1996). Reflections on a Changing Berlin. In B. Becker-Cantarino (Ed.), *Berlin in Focus: Cultural Transformations in Germany* (pp. 1–33). Westport: Praeger Publishers.
- Bell, D. (1973). *The coming of post-industrial society*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bell, J. (1999). Redefining national identity in Uzbekistan: symbolic tensions in Tashkent’s official public landscape. *Cultural Geographies*, 6(2), 183–213.
- Berg, L. D., & Kearns, R. A. (1996). Naming as norming: “race”, gender, and the identity politics of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Society and Space*, 14(1), 99–122.
- Berliner Senatskanzlei für kulturelle Angelegenheiten. (2011). *Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaftsindex Berlin-Brandenburg 2011, Wirtschaftliche Stimmung und Standortbewertung*. Berlin.
- Bernt, M., & Holm, A. (2002). *Gentrification in East Germany: the case of Prenzlauer Berg*. DIFU. Berlin.



- Bernt, M., & Kabisch, S. (2006). Ostdeutsche Grosswohnsiedlungen zwischen Stabilisierung und Niedergang. *Disp*, 164, 5–15.
- Beyerlein, A. (2012, May 23). Anstieg der Zwangsumzüge befürchtet Sonderregelungen für Alleinerziehende. *Berliner Zeitung*. Berlin. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/neue-studie-ueber-wohnkosten-anstieg-der-zwangsumzuege-befuerchtet,10809148,16093370.html>
- Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling. *Sociological Methods Research*, 10(2), 141–163.
- Binder, B. (2007). *Streitfall Stadtmitte: der Berliner Schlossplatz*. Weimar: Böhlau Verlag.
- Birkholz, T. (2008). „Schloss mit der Debatte!“? Die Zwischennutzungen im Palast der Republik im Kontext der Schlossplatzdebatte. *GRAUE REIHE DES INSTITUTS FÜR STADT- UND REGIONALPLANUNG, TU Berlin*. Berlin: Verlag der TU Berlin.
- Böttger, S. (2007). *Wohnungsleerstände in Ostdeutschland: Räumliche Schwerpunkte und Auswirkungen des Programms Stadtumbau Ost*. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory*, 7(1), 14–25.
- Bourdieu, P. (1992). *Language & Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Brabazon, T. (2011). When bohemia becomes a business: City lights, Columbus Avenue and a future for San Francisco. *Human Geographies – Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography*, 5(1), 43–59.
- Brailich, A., Germes, M., Schirmel, H., Glasze, G., & Pütz, R. (2008). Die diskursive Konstitution von Großwohnsiedlungen in Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen. *Europa Regional*, 16(3), 113–128.
- Brailich, A., Germes, M., Schirmel, H., Pütz, R., & Glasze, G. (2010). Großwohnsiedlungen als bedrohliche und bedrohte Orte : Sicherheitsdiskurse in Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen. In *Kongressband der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie 2008* (pp. 1–15). Wiesbaden.
- Brake, K. (2011). „Reurbanisierung“– Globalisierung und neuartige Inwertsetzung städtischer Strukturen „europäischen“ Typs. In O. Frey & F. Koch (Eds.), *Die Zukunft der Europäischen Stadt* (pp. 299–323). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Brattbakk, I., & Hansen, T. (2004). Post-war large housing estates in Norway - Well-kept residential areas still stigmatised? *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19(3), 311–332.
- Bräunert, S. (2010). Transformationsraum Fotografie: Berlin-Hellersdorf am Übergang von DDR Zu BRD. *German Life and Letters*, 63(4), 417–440.
- Brunton-Smith, I., & Jackson, J. (2011). Neighbourhoods Matter: Spatial Spill-over Effects in the Fear of Crime. In V. Ceccato (Ed.), *Urban Fabric of Crime and Fear* (pp. 1–23). Springer.

- Bürk, T. (2010). Stigmatisierungsforschung im Leitprojekt 4: Stigmatisierungsprozesse von Städten in peripherisierten Regionen Begriffe, theoretische Bezüge, und Untersuchungskonzept. *Leibniz-Institut Für Raumentwicklung Und Strukturplanung*.
- Bürkner, H.-J., Kuder, T., & Kühn, M. (2005). *Regenerierung schrumpfender Städte: Theoretische Zugänge und Forschungsperspektiven Inhalt*. Erkner.
- Buzar, S., Ogden, P. E., Hall, R., Haase, A., Kabisch, S., & Steinführer, A. (2007). Splintering Urban Populations: Emergent Landscapes of Reurbanisation in Four European Cities. *Urban Studies*, 44(4), 651–677.
- Campbell, A. (2000). Cultural identity as a social construct. *Intercultural Education*, 11(1), 31–39.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2001). Health Effects of Gentrification. Retrieved June 28, 2013, from <http://www.cdc.gov/HEALTHYPLACES/healthtopics/gentrification.htm>
- Chandler, D. (2007). *Semiotics: the basics* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Colomb, C. (2007). Requiem for a lost Palast. “Revanchist urban planning” and “burdened landscapes” of the German Democratic Republic in the new Berlin. *Planning Perspectives*, 22(3), 142–152.
- Colomb, C. (2012). *Staging the New Berlin: Place marketing and the politics of urban reinvention post-1989*. New York: Routledge.
- Cosgrove, D. (1985). Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 10(1), 45–62.
- Cosgrove, D. (1998). *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (2nd ed.). Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Cosgrove, D. (2004). Landscape and Landschaft. *Lecture Delivered at the “Spatial Turn in History” Symposium German Historical Institute, February 19, 2004; GHI Bulletin*, 35, 57–71. Retrieved from <http://www.ghi-dc.org/files/publications/bulletin/035/35.57.pdf>
- Cosgrove, D., & Jackson, P. (1987). New directions in cultural geography. *Area*, 19(2), 95–101.
- Couch, C., Karecha, J., Nuissl, H., & Rink, D. (2005). Decline and sprawl: an evolving type of urban development—observed in Liverpool and Leipzig 1. *European Planning Studies*, 13(1), 117–136.
- Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: A Short Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Czepczyński, M. (2008). *Cultural landscapes of post-socialist cities: representation of powers and needs*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Dammköhler, M. (2011). *Kleiner Bruder – Große Schwester Untersuchung von Gentrificationprozessen im innerstädtischen Sanierungsgebiet Hechtviertel unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der benachbarten Äußeren Neustadt*. Technische Universität Dresden.

- Danesch, S. (2010). *Zum Umgang mit dem städtebaulichen Erbe der DDR-Moderne in Berlin-Mitte*. Universität Kassel.
- De Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- De Soto, H. G. (1996). (Re) Inventing Berlin: Dialectics of Power, Symbols and Pasts, 1990–1995. *City & Society*, 8(1), 29–49.
- Dean, J., & Hastings, A. (2000). *Challenging images: Housing estates, stigma and regeneration*. October. York: The Policy Press.
- Dellenbaugh, M. (n.d.). The temporal development and solidification of urban discourse paradigms in post-reunification East Berlin. *In Review*.
- Dellenbaugh, M. (2012). Spatial Appropriation for Cultural Production. Two Case Studies in East Berlin after German Reunification. In *Changing Europe Summer School 2012: Central Eastern Europe and the CIS between post-socialist path-dependence, europeanization and globalization*. Moscow: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, Universität Bremen. Retrieved from <http://www.changing-europe.org/download/CESS2012/dellenbaugh.pdf>
- Dellenbaugh, M. (2013). (Re)Presentation of “the” past in Berlin-Mitte after German reunification, and its implications for cultural production through appropriation of space. *[sic] – a Journal of Literature, Culture and Literary Translation*, 3(2). Retrieved from <http://www.sic-journal.org/ArticleView.aspx?lang=en&aid=194>
- Dellenbaugh, M. (2014a). Die Stigmatisierung Berlin-Marzahns als Ausdruck kulturelle Hegemonie des Westens im vereinten Deutschland. In C. Gözl & A. Kliems (Eds.), *Spielplätze der Verweigerung. Gegenkulturen im östlichen Europa nach 1956* (pp. 222–237). Weimar: Böhlau-Verlag.
- Dellenbaugh, M. (2014b). The interdependency of image and material space: The role of discourse in neighbourhood development. Examples from Berlin, Germany. In G. Cairns (Ed.), *“The Mediated City”, London, 1-3 April 2014*. London: Architecture\_MPS. Retrieved from [https://architecturemps.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/mc\\_conference\\_dellenbaugh\\_mary.pdf](https://architecturemps.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/mc_conference_dellenbaugh_mary.pdf)
- Dellenbaugh, M., Ducey, M. J., & Innes, J. C. (2007). Double sampling may improve the efficiency of litterfall estimates. *Canadian Journal of Forest Research*, 37(4), 840–845.
- Dellenbaugh, M., & Haase, A. (2014). Designing in Shrinking Cities – the case of Eastern Germany. In G. Cairns (Ed.), *Design for a Complex World: Challenges in Practice and Education* (pp. 53–74). London: Libri Publishers.
- Dellenbaugh, M., & Horne, F. J. (n.d.). Reconstructing the past, constructing the future through architecture: examples from Johannesburg and Berlin. *In Review*.
- Despite Progress, Former East Germany Still Lags Behind. (2009, August 28). *Spiegel Online*. Retrieved July 24, 2012, from <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/20-years-of-investment-despite-progress-former-east-germany-still-lags-behind-a-645596.html>
- Dmitrieva, M., & Kliems, A. (Eds.). (2010). *The Post Socialist City*. Berlin: Jovis.

- Dohse, D., Krieger-Boden, C., Sander, B., & Soltwedel, R. (2002). Vom Mangel zum Überfluss – der ostdeutsche Wohnungsmarkt in der Subventionsfalle. Kiel. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/2832>
- Doran, B. J., & Lees, B. G. (2005). Investigating the spatiotemporal links between disorder, crime, and the fear of crime. *The Professional Geographer*, 57(1), 1–12.
- Düsterwald, C., Quadde, B., Utermark, G., Vogenauer, T., & Schulz, M. (1994). *Transformationsprozesse im Bereich des Wohnens in Berlin-Ost*. Berlin.
- EinigVtr. (1990). Vertrag zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik über die Herstellung der Einheit Deutschlands (Einigungsvertrag).
- Elsinga, M., & Wassenberg, F. (1991). Tackling crime and vandalism on post-war housing estates: The Dutch approach. *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 6(2), 159–175.
- Fahrer, J. (2011, June 1). Zehntausenden Arbeitslosen droht Zwangsumzug. *Berliner Morgenpost*. Berlin. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article1658657/Zehntausenden-Arbeitslosen-droht-Zwangsumzug.html>
- Fasselt, J., & Zimmer-Hegmann, R. (2004). *Neighborhood Branding - Ein Ansatz zur Verbesserung des Images von Großwohnsiedlungen*.
- Fasselt, J., & Zimmer-Hegmann, R. (2008). Ein neues Image für benachteiligte Quartiere : Neighbourhood Branding als wirksamer Ansatz ? *Quartierforschung*, 3, 233–255.
- Feijten, P., & Van Ham, M. (2009). Neighbourhood Change... Reason to Leave? *Urban Studies*, 46(10), 2103–2122.
- Ferenčuhová, S. (2009). "Coping with the Past". Urban Planning in Post-Socialist European Cities. In F. Eckardt & I. Elander (Eds.), *Urban Governance in Europe* (pp. 275–295). Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag.
- Firat, A. F., & Venkatesh, A. (1993). Postmodernity: The age of marketing. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 10(3), 227–249.
- Florida, R. (2002a). Bohemia and economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 2(1), 55–71.
- Florida, R. (2002b). The Rise of the Creative Class. *Washington Monthly*. Washington, D. C.
- Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the Creative Class. *City & Community*, 2(1), 3–19.
- Florida, R. (2006). The flight of the creative class: The New Global Competition for Talent. *Liberal Education*, 22–29.
- Florida, R. (2007). The flight of the creative class. In R. Florida (Ed.), *The flight of the creative class: The New Global Competition for Talent* (pp. 1–24). New York: Collins.

- FöGgG. (1993). Gesetz über Sonderabschreibungen und Abzugsbeträge im Fördergebiet (Fördergebietsgesetz).
- Foote, K. E., Toth, A., & Arvay, A. (2000). Hungary after 1989: Inscribing a new past on place. *Geographical Review*, 90(3), 301–334.
- Forgacs, D. (Ed.). (2000). *The Antonio Gramsci Reader*. New York: NYU Press.
- Frank, S. (2012). Reurbanisierung als innere Suburbanisierung. In A. Hill & A. Prossek (Eds.), *Metropolis und Region. Herausforderungen für Stadtforschung und Raumplanung zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts* (pp. 69–80). Detmold: Rohn Verlag.
- Franzini, L., Caughy, M. O., Nettles, S. M., & O'Campo, P. (2008). Perceptions of disorder: Contributions of neighborhood characteristics to subjective perceptions of disorder. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 28, 83–93.
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. (1993). Die Privatisierung von kommunalem und genossenschaftlichem Wohnraum im Rahmen des Altschuldenhilfegesetzes. (T. Schaefer, Ed.) *Wohnungspolitische Konzepte für Ostdeutschland auf dem Prüfstand : Umsetzungsstrategien und Erfahrungen vor Ort; eine Tagung der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung am 7. Dezember 1993 in Görlitz*. Bonn. Retrieved April 05, 2012, from <http://library.fes.de/fulltext/fo-wirtschaft/00339004.htm>
- Fuchs-Schündeln, N., Krüger, D., & Sommer, M. (2009). *Inequality Trends for Germany in the Last Two Decades: A Tale of Two Countries* (No. 15059). Cambridge, MA. Retrieved from <http://www.nber.org/papers/w15059>
- Galasiński, D., & Skowronek, K. (2001). Naming the nation: A critical analysis of names in Polish political discourse. *Political Communication*, 18(1), 51–66.
- Gau, J. M., & Pratt, T. C. (2008). Broken Windows or Window Dressing Citizens'(in) Ability To Tell the Difference Between Disorder and Crime. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 7(2), 163–194.
- Gellner, E. (1965). *Thought and Change*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Georgiou, V. (2010). Competing discourses in the debate on place names in Cyprus: Issues of (symbolic) inclusion/exclusion in orthographic choices. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 9(1), 140–164.
- Germes, M., & Tijé-Dra, A. (2012). Banlieue. In N. Marquardt & V. Schreiber (Eds.), *Ortsregister — Ein Glossar zu Räumen der Gegenwart* (pp. 32–38). Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Gill, G. (2005). Changing symbols: the renovation of Moscow place names. *The Russian Review*, 64(3), 480–503.
- Glasco, S. B. (2010). *Constructing Mexico City. Colonial Conflicts over Culture, Space, and Authority* (Vol. 17). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. Piscataway: Aldine Transaction.

- Glasze, G. (2008). Vorschläge zur Operationalisierung der Diskurstheorie von Laclau und Mouffe in einer Triangulation von lexikometrischen und interpretativen Methoden. *Historical Social Research*, 33(1), 185–223.
- Glasze, G., & Mattissek, A. (2009a). Die Hegemonie- und Diskurstheorie von Laclau und Mouffe. In G. Glasze & A. Mattissek (Eds.), *Theorien und Methoden für die Humangeographie sowie die sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Raumforschung* (pp. 153–179). Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.
- Glasze, G., & Mattissek, A. (2009b). Diskursforschung in der Humangeographie: Konzeptionelle Grundlagen und empirische Operationalisierungen. In G. Glasze & A. Mattissek (Eds.), *Theorien und Methoden für die Humangeographie sowie die sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Raumforschung* (pp. 11–59). Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.
- Glasze, G., & Mattissek, A. (2009c). *Handbuch Diskurs und Raum*. Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Glatzer, J. (2007). Gentrification in Ostdeutschland-untersucht am Beispiel der Dresdner Äußeren Neustadt. *Dresden: TU Dresden, Institut Für Geographie*.
- Glatzer, J., & Siedhoff, M. (2008). Reurbanisation: inflationary use of an insufficiently defined term? Comments on the definition of a key concept of urban geography, with selected findings for the city of Dresden. *Die Erde*, 139(4), 289–308.
- Glock, B., & Häußermann, H. (2004). New trends in urban development and public policy in eastern Germany: dealing with the vacant housing problem at the local level. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 28(4), 919–929.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.
- Gorny, R. (2011, June 2). Senat kämpft gegen Zwangs-Umzüge. *Berliner Kurier*. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://www.berliner-kurier.de/kiez-stadt/hohe-mieten-senat-kaempft-gegen-zwangs-umzuege,7169128,8516788.html>
- Goschler, C., & Lillteicher, J. (2002). *„Arisierung“ und Restitution - Die Rückerstattung jüdischen Eigentums in Deutschland und Österreich nach 1945 und 1989*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.
- Gottdiener, M. (1985). Hegemony and mass culture: a semiotic approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 90(5), 979–1001.
- Gottdiener, M. (1995). *Postmodern semiotics: Material culture and the forms of postmodern life*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Großmann, K. (2009). Die Zukunft ostmitteleuropäischer Großwohnsiedlungen zwischen Akzeptanz und Abwertung. Retrieved July 01, 2011, from <http://www.ufz.de/index.php?de=15908>
- Guy, S. (2004). Shadow architectures: war, memories, and Berlin's futures. In S. Graham (Ed.), *Cities, War, and Terrorism: Towards an Urban Geopolitics* (pp. 75–92). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

- Haase, A. (2003). Magdeburg, Halle, Dessau - Gegenwart und Zukunft der Stadtentwicklung in Sachsen-Anhalt. Retrieved May 30, 2011, from <http://www.stadtentwicklung-sachsen-anhalt.de/>
- Haase, A., Grossmann, K., & Steinführer, A. (2012). Transitory urbanites: New actors of residential change in Polish and Czech inner cities. *Cities*, 29(5), 318–326.
- Haase, A., Herfert, G., Kabisch, S., & Steinführer, A. (2012). Reurbanizing Leipzig (Germany): Context Conditions and Residential Actors (2000–2007). *European Planning Studies*, 20(7), 1173–1196.
- Haase, A., Kabisch, S., & Steinführer, A. (2005). Reurbanisierung–eine Chance für die dauerhafte Nutzung innerstädtischer Wohngebiete? *Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung 2004/2005*, 77–94.
- Haase, A., Kabisch, S., & Steinführer, A. (2006). Aufschwung der inneren Stadt in Europa? Reurbanisierung unter den Bedingungen des demographischen Wandels im internationalen Vergleich. *Europa Regional*, 14(4), 167–180.
- Haase, A., Kabisch, S., Steinführer, A., Bouzarovski, S., Hall, R., & Ogden, P. E. (2010). Emergent Spaces of Reurbanisation: Exploring the Demographic Dimension of Inner-City Residential Change in a European Setting. *Population, Space and Place*, 16(5), 443–463.
- Hain, S. (1992). Reise nach Moskau: Wie Deutsche „sozialistisch“ bauen lernten. *Bauwelt*, 45, 1546–1558.
- Hain, S. (1997). Der Berliner Städtebaudiskurs als symbolisches Handeln und Ausdruck hegemonialer Interessen - Urban planning in Berlin as expression of hegemonial interests. *WeltTrends*, 17, 103–123.
- Hall, M. (2006). Identity, Memory and Countermemory: The Archaeology of an Urban Landscape. *Journal of Material Culture*, 11(1-2), 189–209.
- Haller, C., & Liebmann, H. (2002). Vom Wohnungsleerstand zum Stadtumbau. *Berliner Debatte Initial*, 13(2), 34–48.
- Hamnett, C. (1994). Social polarisation in global cities: theory and evidence. *Urban Studies*, 31(3), 401–424.
- Hamnett, C. (2000). Gentrification, postindustrialism, and industrial and occupational restructuring in global cities. In G. Bridge & S. Watson (Eds.), *A Companion to the City* (pp. 331–341). Wiley Online Library.
- Hamnett, C. (2001). Social segregation and social polarization. In R. Paddison (Ed.), *Handbook of urban studies* (pp. 162–176). London: SAGE Publications.
- Hannemann, C. (2000). *Die Platte. Industrialisierter Wohnungsbau in der DDR*. Berlin: Verlag Schelzky & Jeep.
- Hannemann, C. (2004). Architecture as Ideology : Industrialization of Housing in the GDR. *HU Berlin Stadt- Und Regionalsoziologie*, (Working Paper 2A).

- Harloe, M. (1996). Cities in the Transition. In G. Andrusz, M. Harloe, & I. Szelenyi (Eds.), *Cities after socialism* (pp. 1–29). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hastings, A. (1999). Discourse and Urban Change: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Urban Studies*, 36(1), 7–12.
- Hastings, A. (2000). Discourse Analysis: What Does it Offer Housing Studies? *Housing, Theory and Society*, 17(3), 131–139.
- Hastings, A. (2004). Stigma and social housing estates: Beyond pathological explanations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19(3), 233–254.
- Hastings, A., & Dean, J. (2001). Challenging Images : the implications of “image management” for the regeneration of stigmatised housing estates. In *Area based initiatives in contemporary urban policy, Conference of the Danish Building and Urban Research and European Urban Research associations*.
- Hastings, A., & Dean, J. (2003). Challenging images: tackling stigma through estate regeneration. *Policy & Politics*, 31(2), 171–184.
- Häußermann, H. (1996a). From the socialist to the capitalist city: experiences from Germany. In G. Andrusz, M. Harloe, & I. Szelenyi (Eds.), *Cities after socialism* (pp. 214–231). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Häußermann, H. (1996b). Von der Stadt im Sozialismus zur Stadt im Kapitalismus. In H. Häußermann & R. Neef (Eds.), *Stadtentwicklung in Ostdeutschland: Soziale und räumliche Tendenzen* (pp. 5–47). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Häußermann, H. (1998). Capitalist futures and socialist legacies: urban development in East Germany since 1990. *German Politics and Society*, 49(16), 87–102.
- Häußermann, H. (2008). Wohnen und Quartier: Ursachen sozialräumlicher Segregation. In E.-U. Huster, J. Boeckh, & H. Mogge-Grotjahn (Eds.), *Handbuch Armut und Soziale Ausgrenzung* (1st ed., pp. 335–349). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Häußermann, H., & Colomb, C. (2003). The New Berlin: marketing the city of dreams. In L. M. Hoffman, S. S. Fainstein, & D. R. Judd (Eds.), *Cities and Visitors: regulating people, markets, and city space* (pp. 200–218). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Häußermann, H., Holm, A., & Zunzer, D. (1999). *Wohnungsmodernisierung und Stadterneuerung unter veränderten Bedingungen - Beispiel Ost-Berlin. Zwischenbericht eines von der DFG geförderten Projektes*. Berlin.
- Häußermann, H., & Kapphan, A. (1999). Berlin: Bilden sich Quartiere sozialer Benachteiligung. In S. Herkommer (Ed.), *Soziale Ausgrenzungen - Gesichter des neuen Kapitalismus* (pp. 187–208). Hamburg: VSA Verlag.
- Häußermann, H., & Kapphan, A. (2002). *Berlin: von der geteilten zur gespaltenen Stadt?: sozialräumlicher Wandel seit 1990* (2nd ed.). Opladen: Leske+Budrich.



- Häußermann, H., & Kapphan, A. (2004a). Berlin: Ausgrenzungsprozesse in einer europäischen Stadt. In H. Häußermann, M. Kronauer, & W. Siebel (Eds.), *An den Rändern der Städte: Armut und Ausgrenzung* (pp. 203–234). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Häußermann, H., & Kapphan, A. (2004b). Berlin: From divided to fragmented city. *The Greek Review of Social Research*, 113, 25–61.
- Häußermann, H., Kronauer, M., & Siebel, W. (2004). *An den Rändern der Städte: Armut und Ausgrenzung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Häußermann, H., & Siebel, W. (1994). Urbanität und Lebensformen. In W. Nagel & H. Stimmann (Eds.), *Ideenwerkstatt Marzahn. Die Zukunft der Großwohnsiedlungen – Zeichen für eine Identität*. (pp. 64–73). Berlin: Senatsverwaltung für Bau- und Wohnungswesen.
- Häußermann, H., & Strom, E. A. (1994). Berlin: the once and future capital. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 18(2), 335–346.
- Helbrecht, I. (1996). Die Wiederkehr der Innenstädte. Zur Rolle von Kultur, Kapital und Konsum in der Gentrification. *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 84(1), 1–15.
- Helbrecht, I. (2004). Geographisches Kapital – Das Fundament der kreativen Metropolis. In U. Matthiesen (Ed.), *Stadtregion und Wissen. Analysen und Plädoyers für eine wissenschaftsbasierte Stadtentwicklung*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Helbrecht, I. (2005). Stadt- und Regionalmarketing: Neue Identitätspolitiken in alten Grenzen. In C. Scholz (Ed.), *Identitätsbildung: Implikationen für globale Unternehmen und Regionen* (pp. 191–199). Munich: Rainer Hampp Verlag.
- Hell, J., & Von Moltke, J. (2005). Unification effects: imaginary landscapes of the Berlin Republic. *The Germanic Review*, 80(1), 74–95.
- Helleman, G., & Wassenberg, F. (2003). The renewal of what was tomorrow's idealistic city. Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer high-rise. *Cities*, 21(1), 3–17.
- Hennecke, S. (2010). *Die kritische Rekonstruktion als Leitbild: Stadtentwicklungspolitik in Berlin zwischen 1991 und 1999*. Hamburg: EX ARCHITECTURA - Schriften zu Architektur, Städtebau und Baugeschichte, Band 5.
- Hennet, A.-I. (2005). Die Berliner Schlossplatzdebatte - Die Geschichte einer Identitätssuche. In A. Schug (Ed.), *Palast der Republik: politischer Diskurs und private Erinnerung* (pp. 54–66). Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag.
- Hesse, M. (2012). Sprachspiel Reurbanisierung–Formationen, Kritik und Potenziale eines urbanen Diskurses. In K. Brake & G. Herfert (Eds.), *Reurbanisierung* (pp. 69–84). Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Heyns, B. (2005). Emerging inequalities in central and Eastern Europe. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 31, 163–197.
- Hinrichs, W. (1999). *Wohnsuburbanisierung am Beispiel Berlin, Ein Erklärungsrahmen* (No. FS III 99 - 401). Berlin.

- Hipp, J. R. (2010). Resident perceptions of crime & disorder: How much is "bias", and how much is social environment differences? *Criminology*, 48(2), 475–508.
- Hirt, S. (2007). Suburbanizing Sofia: Characteristics of post-socialist peri-urban change. *Urban Geography*, 28(8), 755–780.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). Introduction: Inventing traditions. In E. J. Hobsbawm & T. O. Ranger (Eds.), *The invention of tradition* (pp. 1–14). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holm, A. (2001). „Behutsame Verdrängung" am Helmholtzplatz: Ausgrenzung im Aufwertungsgebiet. *MieterEcho, Zeitschrift Der Berliner Mietergemeinschaft*, 9 – 11.
- Holm, A. (2004). Hartz IV lässt die Verdrängungsfalle zuschnappen. Auswirkungen auf die Wohnungsversorgung am Beispiel von Prenzlauer Berg. *MieterEcho, Zeitschrift Der Berliner Mietergemeinschaft*. Retrieved from <http://www.bmgev.de/mieterecho/306/11-hartziv-verdraengung.html>
- Holm, A. (2005). Hartz IV und die Konturen einer neoliberalen Wohnungspolitik. (J. Sambale & V. Eick, Eds.) *Sozialer Wohnungsbau, Arbeitsmarkt(re)integration und der neoliberale Wohlfahrtsstaat in der Bundesrepublik und Nordamerika*. Berlin: Working Paper No. 3 der Abteilung Politik, John F Kennedy-Institut FU Berlin. Retrieved May 14, 2013, from <http://www.policing-crowds.org/uploads/media/Andrej-Holm-Konturen-neoliberaler-Wohnungspolitik.pdf>
- Holm, A. (2006a). *Die Restrukturierung des Raumes: Stadterneuerung der 90er Jahre in Ostberlin: Interessen und Machtverhältnisse*. Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Holm, A. (2006b). Stadterneuerung in Berlin Prenzlauer Berg. In C. Krajewski (Ed.), *Berlin - Stadt-Entwicklungen zwischen Kiez und Metropole seit der Wiedervereinigung* (pp. 55–78). Münster: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Angewandte Geographie Münster e.V.
- Holm, A. (2008). Wohnungspolitische Auswirkungen der Hartz-IV-Gesetzgebung. In J. Klute & S. Kotlenga (Eds.), *Sozial-und Arbeitsmarktpolitik nach Hartz: fünf Jahre Hartzreformen: Bestandaufnahme - Analysen - Perspektiven* (pp. 43 – 61). Göttingen: Universitätsdrucke Göttingen.
- Holm, A. (2010). *Wir Bleiben Alle! Gentrifizierung - Städtische Konflikte um Aufwertung und Verdrängung*. Münster: Unrast.
- Holm, A. (2011a). Gentrification in Berlin: Neue Investitionsstrategien und lokale Konflikte. In H. Herrmann, C. Keller, R. Neef, & R. Ruhne (Eds.), *Die Besonderheit des Städtischen: Entwicklungslinien der Stadt(soziologie)* (pp. 213–232). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Holm, A. (2011b). Kosten der Unterkunft als Segregationsmotor - Befunde aus Berlin und Oldenburg. *Informationen Zur Raumentwicklung*, 9, 557–566.
- Holm, A. (2012). Paradoxien und Begleiterscheinungen der Reurbanisierung. In K. Brake & G. Herfert (Eds.), *Reurbanisierung - Materialität und Diskurs in Deutschland* (pp. 239–257). Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Horanr, M. (2002). Images of Australian Colonialism : Interpretations of the Colonial Landscape by an Aboriginal Historian. *Self- and Other-Images of Hunter-Gatherers: Papers Presented at*

*the Eighth International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies; Senri Ethnological Studies (English Journal of National Museum of Ethnology), 60, 153–169.*

Hunger, B. (2003). Stadtumbau Ost, Eine Herausforderung für Städtebau und Wohnungswirtschaft. *Planerin*, 2, 11–13.

Huster, E.-U. (Ed.). (1997). *Reichtum in Deutschland: die Gewinner in der sozialen Polarisierung*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.

Huyssen, A. (1997). The voids of Berlin. *Critical Inquiry*, 24(1), 57–81.

Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

I. WoBauG. (1950). Erstes Wohnungsbaugesetz. Bonn: Deutsche Bundestag.

Immer mehr Zwangsumzüge. (2012, February 25). *Berliner Kurier*. Berlin. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://www.berliner-kurier.de/kiez-stadt/hartz-iv-haushalte-immer-mehr-zwangsumzuege,7169128,11706848.html>

Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung. (2004). Bund-Länder-Programm Stadtumbau Ost. Retrieved August 06, 2012, from <http://www.stadtumbau-ost.info/>

Interview 02. (2011). Personal interview, 29 June 2011. Berlin: Researcher.

Interview 03. (2011). Personal interview, 30 June 2011. Berlin: Administration.

Interview 04. (2011). Personal interview, 30 June 2011. Berlin: Administration.

Interview 06. (2011). Personal interview, 11 July 2011. Berlin: Renter Advocacy.

Interview 08. (2011). Personal interview, 13 July 2011. Berlin: Researcher.

Interview 09. (2011). Personal interview, 14 July 2011. Berlin: Researcher.

Interview 11. (2011). Personal interview, 18 July 2011. Berlin: Renter Advocacy.

Interview 12. (2011). Personal interview, 18 July 2011. Berlin: Researcher.

Interview 14. (2011). Personal interview, 25 July 2011. Berlin: Local Non-Profit.

Interview 16. (2011). Personal interview, 3 August 2011. Berlin: Local Non-Profit.

Interview 17. (2012). Personal interview, 8 May 2012. Berlin: Researcher.

Interview 18. (2012). Personal interview, 9 May 2012. Berlin: Researcher.

Interview 19. (2012). Personal interview, 25 May 2012. Berlin: Administration.

Interview 20. (2012). Personal interview, 29 May 2012. Berlin: Administration.

- InVorG. (1992). Gesetz über den Vorrang für Investitionen bei Rückübertragungsansprüchen nach dem Vermögensgesetz (Investitionsvorranggesetz).
- Jackson, J., Gray, E., & Brunton-Smith, I. (2010). *Decoding Disorder : On Public Sensitivity to Low-Level Deviance* (pp. 1–19).
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Jaraus, K. H. (2010). Beyond the National Narrative: Implications of Reunification for Recent German History. *German History*, 28(4), 498–514.
- Jenkis, H. (2007). Die alternde und schrumpfende Bevölkerung - ein städtebauliches Problem. In X. Feng & A. M. Popescu (Eds.), *Infrastrukturprobleme bei Bevölkerungsrückgang* (pp. 161–184). Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag.
- Jordan, K. (2007). Von Hohenzollernschloss zum Volkspalast. In A. Schug (Ed.), *Palast der Republik: politischer Diskurs und private Erinnerung* (pp. 20–29). Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag.
- Jürgens, U. (2008). The “Concept” of Reurbanisation? Discussion of a Many-Faceted Term and its Variations. *Die Erde*, 139(4), 281–288.
- Kabisch, N., Haase, D., & Haase, A. (2010). Evolving Reurbanisation? Spatio-temporal Dynamics as Exemplified by the East German City of Leipzig. *Urban Studies*, 47(5), 967–990.
- Kaplan, A. (2002). *Das arme Berlin. Sozialräumliche Polarisierung, Armutskonzentration und Ausgrenzung in den 1990er Jahren*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Kavaratzis, M., & Ashworth, G. J. (2005). City Branding: an Effective Assertion of Identity or a Transitory Marketing Trick? *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, 96(5), 506–514.
- Kil, W. (2004). Testfall für den Epochenwandel. Der “Stadtumbau Ost” beseitigt Wohnungen, ohne nach dem Kern des Problems zu fragen. *Städte Im Umbruch - Das Online-Magazin Für Stadtentwicklung, Stadtschrumpfung, Stadtumbau Und Regenerierung*, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.schrumpfende-stadt.de/magazin/0401/9kil.htm>
- Kinne, N. (2001). Die “Platte” als Ausdruck sozialistischer Ideologie, Industrialisierter Wohnungsbau in der DDR, aktuelle Tendenzen.
- Kinossian, N. (2008). The Politics of the City Image: The Resurrection of the Kul-Sharif Mosque in the Kazan Kremlin (1995-2005). *Architectural Theory Review*, 13(2), 188–205.
- Kinossian, N. (2009). The Role of Image in Creating the Post-Socialist City (Case Study of Kazan, Tatarstan). In *The 4th International Conference of the International Forum on Urbanism (IFoU)* (pp. 1255–1262). Delft.
- Kinossian, N. (2012). Post-Socialist Transition and Remaking the City: Political Construction of Heritage in Tatarstan. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 64(5), 879–901.
- Klein, N. (2005). *No Logo*. London: Harper Perennial.

- Klute, J., & Kotlenga, S. (Eds.). (2008). *Sozial-und Arbeitsmarktpolitik nach Hartz: Fünf Jahre Hartzreformen: Bestandsaufnahme-Analysen-Perspektiven*. Göttingen: Universitätsdrucke Göttingen.
- Kneist, S., & Willnow, C. (2012, January 12). Zahl der Zwangsumzüge steigt drastisch. *Der Tagesspiegel*. Berlin. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/hartz-iv-klagen-zahl-der-zwangsumzuege-steigt-drastisch/6056962.html>
- Köppen, B., Mai, R., & Schlömer, C. (2007). Reurbanisierung in Ostdeutschland–möglicher Leittrend zukünftiger Stadtentwicklung? *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 95(4), 211–230.
- Kovács, Z. (1998). Ghettoization or gentrification? Post-socialist scenarios for Budapest. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 13(1), 63–81.
- Kraft, S. (2011). Die Großsiedlungen - Ein gescheitertes Erbe der Moderne? *ARCH+*, 203, 48–54.
- Kröhnert, S., & Skipper, S. (2010). Demographic Development in Eastern Germany. *Online Handbook Demography*. Retrieved July 24, 2012, from <http://www.berlin-institut.org/online-handbookdemography/east-germany.html>
- Kühn, M., & Liebmann, H. (Eds.). (2009). *Regenerierung der Städte: Strategien der Politik und Planung im Schrumpfungskontext*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Kulu, H. (2003). Housing differences in the late Soviet city: the case of Tartu, Estonia. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(4), 897–911.
- Laar, M. (2010). *The Power of Freedom, Central and Eastern Europe after 1945*. Tallinn: Unitas Foundation.
- Ladd, B. (1997). *The ghosts of Berlin: confronting German history in the urban landscape*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lamnek, S. (2005). *Qualitative Sozialforschung* (4th ed.). Basel: Beltz Verlag.
- Lang, T. (2003). Schrumpfende Städte - eine Annäherung. *Städte Im Umbruch - Das Online-Magazin Für Stadtentwicklung, Stadtschrumpfung, Stadtumbau Und Regenerierung*, 2(4). Retrieved from <http://www.schrumpfende-stadt.de/magazin/0312lang.htm>
- Ledanff, S. (2003). The Palace of the Republic versus the Stadtschloss. *German Politics*, 21(69), 30–73.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Legg, S. (2007). Reviewing geographies of memory/forgetting. *Environment and Planning A*, 39(2), 456–466.
- Lenhart, K. (2001). *Berliner Metropoly: Stadtentwicklungspolitik im Berliner Bezirk Mitte nach der Wende*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Liebe, L. (2001). *Stadtumbau in schrumpfenden Städten Ostdeutschlands: Schrumpfungsmanagement im Bereich Wohnen*. Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag.

- Liebmann, H. (2009). Stadtumbau–städtebauliche Strategien in Ostdeutschland. In M. Kühn & H. Liebmann (Eds.), *Regenerierung der Städte* (pp. 141–156). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Light, D. (2000). Gazing on communism: Heritage tourism and post-communist identities in Germany, Hungary and Romania. *Tourism Geographies*, 2(2), 157–176.
- Light, D., Nicolae, I., & Suditu, B. (2002). Toponymy and the Communist city: Street names in Bucharest, 1948–1965. *Geojournal*, 56(2), 135–144.
- Loshitzky, Y. (1997). Constructing and deconstructing the Wall. *Clio: A Journal of Literature, History and the Philosophy of History*, 26(3), 276–296.
- Löw, M. (2001). *Raumsoziologie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Marcuse, P. (1998). Reflections on Berlin: the meaning of construction and the construction of meaning. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22(2), 331–338.
- Maurer, R., Sander, B., & Schmidt, K.-D. (1991). Privatisierung in Ostdeutschland: zur Arbeit der Treuhandanstalt. *Die Weltwirtschaft*, 1, 45–66.
- McBride, B. (1999). The (Post)colonial Landscape of Cathedral Square: Urban Redevelopment and Representation in the “Cathedral City.” *New Zealand Geographer*, 55(1), 3–11.
- McGarrell, E., Giacomazzi, A., & Thurman, Q. (1997). Neighborhood disorder, integration, and the fear of crime. *Justice Quarterly*, 14(3), 479–500.
- Meadows, D. H. (2009). *Thinking in Systems: A Primer*. (D. Wright, Ed.). White River Junction: Chelsea Green Publishing.
- medienboard Berlin-Brandenburg GmbH, & ZukunftsAgentur Brandenburg. (2011). *Medien und Kreativwirtschaft in Berlin-Brandenburg*. Berlin.
- Merriam, S. B. (1995). What Can You Tell From An N of 1?: Issues of Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research. *PAACE Journal of Lifelong Learning*, 4, 51–60.
- Merriam-Webster. (2011). Image. *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. Retrieved June 17, 2011, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/image>
- Merseburger, P. (1998). Klein-Moskau an der Spree: Karl Schlögers glanzvolle Essays über deutsch-russische Begegnungen indiesem Jahrhundert. *Die Zeit*, p. 3. Berlin.
- Meuser, M., & Nagel, U. (2002). ExpertInneninterviews—vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht. In A. Bogner, B. Littig, & W. Menz (Eds.), *Das Experteninterview: Theorie, Methode, Anwendung* (pp. 441–471). Berlin: Springer.
- Moser, P., & Breuste, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Ostdeutsche Stadt-Umland-Regionen unter Suburbanisierungsdruck*. Leipzig: UFZ-Umweltforschungszentrum Leipzig-Halle.

- Mürbe, S. (2007). Der Palast der Republik–Ort geteilter Erinnerungen? In A. Schug (Ed.), *Palast der Republik. Politischer Diskurs und private Erinnerung* (pp. 108–121). Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag.
- Nagel, W., & Stimmann, H. (1994). *Ideenwerkstatt Marzahn. Die Zukunft der Großwohnsiedlungen–Zeichen für eine Identität*. Berlin.
- Nietzsche, F. W. (1980). *On the advantage and disadvantage of history for life*. (P. Preuss, Ed.). Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Nuissl, H., & Rink, D. (2003). *Urban sprawl and post-socialist transformation - the case of Leipzig (Germany)*. *Environmental Research*. Leipzig.
- Nuissl, H., & Rink, D. (2005a). Suburbanisierung und Flächeninanspruchnahme (Urban Sprawl) unter Schrumpfungsbedingungen: Das Beispiel Leipzig. In U. Altrock, R. Kunze, U. von Petz, & D. Schubert (Eds.), *Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung 2004/2005* (pp. 95–111). Berlin: Arbeitskreis Stadterneuerung an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen / Technische Universität Berlin, Institut für Stadt- und Regionalplanung.
- Nuissl, H., & Rink, D. (2005b). The “production” of urban sprawl in eastern Germany as a phenomenon of post-socialist transformation. *Cities*, 22(2), 123–134.
- O’Brien, D. T., Norton, C., Cohen, J., & Wilson, D. S. (n.d.). *Cultural Variation in Community Perception : Local Adaptation and the Interpretation of Disorder*. Retrieved from <http://bnp.binghamton.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/Cultural-variation-in-community-perception.pdf>
- O’Loughlin, J., & Friedrichs, J. (1996). *Social polarization in post-industrial metropolises*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter Inc.
- Omilanowska, M. (2010). Post-Totalitarian and Post-Colonial Experiences: The Palace of Culture and Science and Defilad Square in Warsaw. In A. Kliems & M. Dmitrieva (Eds.), *The post-socialist city* (pp. 120–139). Berlin: Jovis.
- Palonen, E. (2008). The city-text in post-communist Budapest: street names, memorials, and the politics of commemoration. *GeoJournal*, 73(3), 219–230.
- Pan Ké Shon, J.-L. (2007). Residents’ Perceptions of their Neighbourhood: Disentangling Dissatisfaction, a French Survey. *Urban Studies*, 44(11), 2231–2268.
- Pan Ké Shon, J.-L. (2012). Perception of Insecurity in French Poor Neighbourhoods: Racial Proxy or Pure Discrimination Hypotheses? *Urban Studies*, 49(3), 505–525.
- Pedlow, S. (2011). *Die neue Attraktivität der Stadt: Wohnpräferenzen und Motive der Wohnstandortwahl in familienorientierten Neubaugebieten Darmstadts*. Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg.
- Permentier, M., Bolt, G., & Van Ham, M. (2011). Determinants of neighbourhood satisfaction and perception of neighbourhood reputation. *Urban Studies*, 48(5), 977–996.
- Permentier, M., Van Ham, M., & Bolt, G. (2007). Behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 22(2), 199–213.

- Pfeiffer, U., Simons, H., & Porsch, L. (2000). *Wohnungswirtschaftlicher Strukturwandel in den neuen Bundesländern - Bericht der Kommission*.
- Punch, K. F. (2005). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Raudenbush, S. W., & Sampson, R. J. (1999). Ecometrics: Toward a Science of Assessing Ecological Settings, with Application to the Systematic Social Observation of Neighborhoods. *Sociological Methodology*, 29, 1–41.
- Reimann, B. (1997). The transition from people's property to private property: Consequences of the restitution principle for urban development and urban renewal in East Berlin's inner-city residential areas. *Applied Geography*, 17(4), 301–313.
- Renner, K. (2009). *Großwohnsiedlungen in Ostberlin: Das Beispiel Marzahn*. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag.
- Rietdorf, W., Liebmann, H., & Haller, C. (2001). Schrumpfende Städte – verlassene Grosssiedlungen? Stadtstrukturelle Bedeutung und Probleme von Grosswohnsiedlungen. *DISP*, 146, 4–12.
- Rietz, K. (2011, January 29). Berlin : Zwangsumzüge von Hartz-IV-Empfängern seit 2009 verdoppelt. *TAZ*. Berlin. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from <http://www.shortnews.de/id/874082/berlin-zwangsumzuege-von-hartz-iv-empfaengern-seit-2009-verdoppelt>
- Rose-Redwood, R., Alderman, D., & Azaryahu, M. (2010). Geographies of toponymic inscription: new directions in critical place-name studies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(4), 453–470.
- Saarinen, H. (2008). Symbolic Places in Berlin before and after the Fall of the Wall. In J. Aunesluoma & P. Kettunen (Eds.), *The Cold War and the Politics of History* (pp. 81–107). Helsinki: Edita Publishing Ltd.
- Sailer-Fliege, U. (1999). Characteristics of post-socialist urban transformation in East Central Europe. *GeoJournal*, 49(1), 7–16.
- Saldanha, A., & Keynes, M. (2002). Identity , Spatiality and Post-Colonial Resistance : Geographies of the Tourism Critique in Goa. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5(2), 94–111.
- Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (1999). Systematic social observation of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3), 603–651.
- Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2004). Seeing Disorder: Neighborhood Stigma and the Social Construction of “Broken Windows.” *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 67(4), 319–342.
- Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2005). Neighborhood stigma and the perception of disorder. *Focus*, 24(1), 7–11.
- Sander, B. (1994). *Anpassungsprozesse in der ostdeutschen Wohnungswirtschaft: Analyse und Bewertung*. Kiel.



- Sassen, S. (2001). The City: Between Topographic Representation and Spatialized Power Projects. *Art Journal*, 60(2), 12–20.
- Scarborough, B. K., Like-Haislip, T. Z., Novak, K. J., Lucas, W. L., & Alarid, L. F. (2010). Assessing the relationship between individual characteristics, neighborhood context, and fear of crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38, 819–826.
- Schiffers, B. (2009). Immobilienmarkt in schrumpfenden Städten. In B. Schiffers (Ed.), *Verfügungsrechte im Stadtumbau: Handlungsmuster und Steuerungsinstrumente im Altbauquartier* (pp. 27–48). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Schug, A. (2007). *Palast der Republik. Politischer Diskurs und private Erinnerung*. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag.
- Schulz, M. (1997). Transformationsprozesse im Bereich des Wohnens und deren räumliche Wirkung am Beispiel Berlin. In G. Meyer (Ed.), *Von der Plan- zur Marktwirtschaft : wirtschafst- und sozialgeographische Entwicklungsprozesse in den neuen Bundesländern* (pp. 67–76). Mainz: Geographisches Inst., Johannes-Gutenberg-Univ.
- Schulz, M. (2000). Berlin - recent issues in urban development. In A. Mayr & W. Taubmann (Eds.), *Germany Ten Years after Reunification, Dedicated to the 29th International Geographical Congress Seoul (Korea) 2000* (pp. 224–236). Leipzig: Beiträge zur Regionalen Geographie 52.
- Schulz, M. (2010). Wohnen und Fertilitätsverhalten in der DDR. In D. Reuschke (Ed.), *Wohnen und Gender - Theoretisch, politische, soziale und räumliche Aspekte*. (pp. 117–128). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin. (2000). *z. B. Berlin - Zehn Jahre Transformation und Modernisierung, 1990-2000*. Berlin: Runze & Casper.
- Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft Technologie und Frauen. (2005). *Kurzinfo - Kulturwirtschaft/ Kreativwirtschaft in Berlin*. Berlin.
- Smith, N. (1979). Toward a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement by capital, not people. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(4), 538–548.
- Smith, N. (1982). Gentrification and uneven development. *Economic Geography*, 58(2), 139–155.
- Smith, N. (1987). Of yuppies and housing: gentrification, social restructuring, and the urban dream. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 5(2), 151–172.
- Smith, P. (1999). The elementary forms of place and their transformations: A Durkheimian model. *Qualitative Sociology*, 22(1), 13–36.
- Sörlin, S. (1999). The articulation of territory: landscape and the constitution of regional and national identity. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 53(2-3), 103–112.
- Spittler, U., & Knischewski, G. (1995). Redefining German identity: case studies in Berlin. *Journal of Area Studies*, 3(7), 100–113.

- St. Jean, P. K. B. (2007). *Pockets of Crime: Broken Windows, Collective Efficacy and the Criminal Point of View*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Stadtverwaltung Berlin. (1993). Neunte Verordnung über die förmliche Festlegung von Sanierungsgebieten. Berlin: Stadtverwaltung Berlin.
- Stadtverwaltung Berlin. (1994). Zehnte Verordnung über die förmliche Festlegung von Sanierungsgebieten. Berlin: Stadtverwaltung Berlin.
- Stadtverwaltung Berlin. (1995). Elfte Verordnung über die förmliche Festlegung von Sanierungsgebieten. Berlin: Stadtverwaltung Berlin.
- Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR*. (1989) (1. Auflage.). Berlin (Ost): Staatsverlag der DDR.
- Steinführer, A., Haase, A., & Kabisch, S. (2009). Leipzig – Reurbanisierungsprozesse zwischen Planung und Realität. In M. Kühn & H. Liebmann (Eds.), *Regenerierung der Städte: Strategien der Politik und Planung im Schrumpfungskontext* (pp. 176–194). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Steinführer, A., & Kabisch, S. (2004). *Binnen- und Außenimage von Johanngeorgenstadt aus soziologischer Perspektive* (No. 02/2004). Leipzig.
- Stimmann, H. (1994). Kritische Rekonstruktion und steinerne Architektur für die Friedrichstadt. In A. Burg (Ed.), *Neue Berlinische Architektur - Eine Debatte* (pp. 107–122). Basel: Birkhäuser.
- Stimmann, H. (1995). *Babylon, Berlin etc: Das Vokabular der europäischen Stadt: Lapidarium Conferences 1995, Internationale Architekturgespräche*. Basel: Birkhäuser.
- Stimmann, H. (1999). "Berlin nach der Wende: Experimente mit der Tradition des europäischen Städtebaus." In W. Süß & R. Rytlewski (Eds.), *Berlin. Die Hauptstadt. Vergangenheit und Zukunft einer europäischen Metropole* (pp. 543–558). Berlin: Nicolai.
- Stimmann, H. (2001a). Das Gedächtnis der europäischen Stadt. In H. Stimmann (Ed.), *Von der Architektur-zur Stadtdebatte: Die Diskussion um das Planwerk Innenstadt* (pp. 11–28). Salenstein: Verlagshaus Braun.
- Stimmann, H. (2001b). *Von der Architektur-zur Stadtdebatte: Die Diskussion um das Planwerk Innenstadt*. Berlin: Braun.
- Stimmann, H. (2002). *Vom Plan zum Bauwerk: Bauten der Berliner Innenstadt nach 2000*. Berlin: Verlagshaus Braun.
- Stimmann, H. (2009a). Renaissance der Berliner Altstadt, Von DDR Staatsmitte zur Stadtmitte. In H. Stimmann (Ed.), *Berliner Altstadt, Von der DDR-Staatsmitte zur Stadtmitte* (1st ed., pp. 6–13). Berlin: DOM publishers.
- Stimmann, H. (2009b). Schadow wohnte nicht in Ost-Berlin, Auf Spurensuche in der Altstadt. In *Berliner Altstadt, Von der DDR-Staatsmitte zur Stadtmitte* (pp. 14–37). Berlin: DOM publishers.
- Stöhr, H. (2001). *Berlin is in Germany*. Germany: ZDF & rbb.

- Strom, E. A. (2001). *Building the New Berlin: The Politics of Urban Development in Germany's Capital City*. Oxford: Lexington Books.
- Struyk, R. J. (1996). Housing Privatization in the Former Soviet Bloc to 1995. In G. Andrusz, M. Harloe, & I. Szelenyi (Eds.), *Cities after socialism* (pp. 192–213). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Sun, I. Y., & Triplett, R. A. (2008). Differential perceptions of neighborhood problems by police and residents: The impact of neighborhood-level characteristics. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 31(3), 435–455.
- Swart, M. (2008). Name Changes as Symbolic Reparation after Transition: the Examples of Germany and South Africa. *German Law Journal*, 9(2), 105–121.
- Tölle, A. (2010). Urban identity policies in Berlin: From critical reconstruction to reconstructing the Wall. *Cities*, 27(5), 348–357.
- Torop, P. (1999). Cultural semiotics and culture. *Sign Systems Studies*, 27, 9–23.
- Treutler, S. (2008). *Gesellschaftssteuerung durch Stadtumbau?: Eine steuerungstheoretische Analyse der bisherigen Ergebnisse des "Stadtumbau Ost" am Fallbeispiel Magdeburg*. Freie Universität Berlin.
- Urban, F. (2009). *Neo-historical East Berlin: architecture and urban design in the German Democratic Republic 1970-1990*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Venturi, R. (1966). *Complexity and contradiction in architecture*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- VermG. (1990). Gesetz zur Regelung offener Vermögensfragen (Vermögensgesetz). Federal Republic of Germany.
- Von der Heyden, E. (1995). Privatization in East Germany: The delivery of an economy. *The Columbia Journal of World Business*, 30(3), 42–54.
- Wacquant, L. J. D. (1993). Urban Outcasts: Stigma and Division in the Black American Ghetto and the French Urban Periphery. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17(3), 366–383.
- Wassenberg, F. (2004a). Large social housing estates: From stigma to demolition? *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19(3), 223–232.
- Wassenberg, F. (2004b). Renewing stigmatised estates in the Netherlands: A framework for image renewal strategies. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19(3), 271–292.
- Wassenberg, F. (2004c). The changing position of high-rise housing estates. In R. Turkington, R. Van Kempen, & F. Wassenberg (Eds.), *High-rise Housing in Europe: Current Trends and Future Prospects*. Delft: Delftse University Press.
- Wassenberg, F. (2006a). Motives for demolition. In *Housing in an expanding Europe, Tagung der European Network of Housing Research (ENHR)*. Ljubljana.

- Wassenberg, F. (2006b). The integrated renewal of Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer high-rise. *Informationen Zur Raumentwicklung*, 3/4, 191–202.
- Weber, D. A. (2009). Changing Sacredness and Historical Memory of Moscow's Red Square. *Studies in Slavic Cultures*, 8, 43–64.
- Weber, R., Kreisel, W., & Faust, H. (2003). Colonial Interventions on the Cultural Landscape of Central Sulawesi by "Ethical Policy": The Impact of the Dutch Rule in Palu and Kulawi Valley, 1905–1942. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 31(3), 398–434.
- Weclawowicz, G. (1998). Social polarisation in postsocialist cities: Budapest, Prague and Warsaw. In G. Enyedi (Ed.), *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe* (pp. 55–66). Budapest: Akademiai Kiado.
- Whelan, Y. (2002). The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape: monuments to British monarchs in Dublin before and after independence. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 28(4), 508–533.
- Wilson, J. Q., & Kelling, G. L. (1982). Broken Windows. *The Atlantic Monthly*. Retrieved May 30, 2011, from [http://www.manhattan-institute.org/pdf/\\_atlantic\\_monthly-broken\\_windows.pdf](http://www.manhattan-institute.org/pdf/_atlantic_monthly-broken_windows.pdf)
- Winchester, H. P. M., Kong, L., & Dunn, K. (2003). *Landscapes: Ways of Imagining the World*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Wodak, R. (1994). Sprachen und >>Vergangenheiten<<. In R. Wodak, F. Menz, R. Mitten, & F. Stern (Eds.), *Die Sprachen der Vergangenheiten, Öffentliches Gedenken in österreichischen und deutschen Medien* (pp. 9–38). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Yeoh, B. S. A. (1992). Street Names in Colonial Singapore. *Geographical Review*, 82(3), 313–322.
- Yeoh, B. S. A. (1996). Street-Naming and Nation-Building: Toponymic Inscriptions of Nationhood in Singapore. *Area*, 28(3), 298–307.
- Young, C., & Kaczmarek, S. (2008). The Socialist Past and Postsocialist Urban Identity in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of Łódź, Poland. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 15(1), 53–70.
- Zahl der Zwangsumzüge in Berlin gestiegen. (2012, February 27). *RBB Online*. Berlin. Retrieved November 02, 2012, from [http://www.rbb-online.de/nachrichten/politik/2012\\_02/zahl\\_der\\_zwangsumzuege.html](http://www.rbb-online.de/nachrichten/politik/2012_02/zahl_der_zwangsumzuege.html)
- Ziegler, A. (2005). *Aufbau Ost und die Rolle der Förderpolitik: ein Arbeitspapier im Auftrag der Otto-Brenner-Stiftung*. Frankfurt am Main: Otto Brenner Stiftung.

## **Appendix 1 – Exposés**

## Appendix 1.1: The role of structural changes to built space in the (un-)stigmatization of Berlin districts since the fall of the Berlin Wall (26 July 2010)

### The role of structural changes to built space in the (un-) stigmatization of Berlin districts since the fall of the Berlin Wall

How the actions of the private sector, public sector & outsiders on built structures from 1989 to 2009 have affected (or failed to affect) perception of Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg and Marzahn and what we can learn from it.

#### **Abstract**

Stigmatization of districts and neighborhoods can come about for many reasons, most typically through social or physical characteristics, such as crime rates, resident demographic structure, or percentage of renovated versus unrenovated houses. Changes in public or hegemonic perception and characterization of districts can occur based on changes in these characteristics as well. These characteristics are rarely independent of each other, rather forming a complex system of action, reaction, and interaction that affects built structure and stakeholder alike.

This research proposal outlines a proposed attempt to tease out the effect of changes to the built space from the private sector, public sector, and outsiders in the hegemonic discourse and stakeholder perception of 3 districts in Berlin over the course of 20 years. The author proposes to use discourse analysis and multiple regression analysis to assess the complex reciprocal relationship between changes to the built space, social, demographic, structural and economic statistics, and stakeholder and societal perception of space.

The three case study areas, the contiguous subdistricts of Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg and Marzahn, have experienced different forms and intensities of stigmatization and labelling over the last 20 years, as well as further into the past. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, processes of de- and reindustrialization, gentrification, and demographic change have changed both the socioeconomic makeup of the residents and state of the built form in different ways, with varying effects on both hegemonic and stakeholder perception of the space.

#### **Introduction**

The impetus for the change in perception of a city district can come from many sources. Districts are qualified or judged based on several characteristics, including but not limited to qualities associated with the residents (social) and/or the built structure (structural). This is particularly of interest in the analysis of stigmatization of city districts, since changes to social or structural characteristics, both positive and negative, may change the degree to which a district is stigmatized. A sudden influx in violent crime may tarnish a neighborhood's reputation while the founding of a successful new youth center may bolster public opinion. In reflexive logic, the degree of stigmatization reflects back on the people and structures to which these characteristics are attributed, forming a feedback loop characterized in negative situations as a **downward spiral**.

It is prudent at this point in the discussion to define the relevant terms that will be used throughout the rest of this proposal. This paper deals with the concept of **stigmatization**, a social and cultural process through which **stigmata** (singular: stigma), negatively-regarded characteristics, are attributed to a person, group, or thing (Bürk 2010). **Hegemonic stigmatization** describes stigmatization by the majority cultural group of a minority group or groups based on dominant cultural beliefs, norms and mores. For hegemonic stigmatization to occur, a **dominant worldview** (the previously-mentioned cultural beliefs, norms and mores) must be present. Such dominant worldviews are inherently linked to scales of relative valuation, with the implicit or explicit identification of a society with a **normed ideal or ideals**, and the resulting implicit or explicit identification of **deviants** from that normed ideal/those normed ideals. This dominant worldview is repeated, enforced, and shaped in part by media such as television, printed media and the internet.

The concept of stigmatization stems from the use of markings to identify slaves during Roman times. The American sociologist Erving Goffman brought the idea of stigmatization to the social forefront in 1963 with his book “Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity” (Bürk 2010). This research development coincided with the social and environmental revolutions of the 1960s and 70s in the United States at the time and the increase in visibility of such “deviants”. According to Bürk (2010), Goffman identified 3 main forms of stigmata: a) bodily deformations, b) negative character traits and c) signs of “race, nation & religion”. This research initiative caught on in Germany in the 1960s and 70s through the work of Brusten and Hohmeyer.

In modern Germany, typical social sources of localized or spatially-based stigmatization follow the same pattern as described by Goffman; physical changes leading to a deviation from the cultural ideal of the “clean and orderly” city (*“ordentlichen und sauberen” Stadt*) (Bürk 2010), “bad behaviour” in the form of crime or vandalism, and negatively-valued or deviant (from the normed ideal) resident characteristics such as age, ethnicity, gender or economic or social situation. Typical examples are graffiti and high vacancy rates, demographic change (“shrinking cities”, “aging cities”), and political extremism (demonstrations, “neo-Nazis”, “skinheads”) (Brailich et al 2010, Bürk 2010). In addition, various types and qualities of built form are valued differently based on changing socio-cultural value systems, leading in extreme cases to labelling of entire districts. As examined by Brailich and his coauthors, specific types of built structures (in this case, large blocks of prefabricated slab apartment buildings (*Plattenbau*)) are recipients of an inordinate amount of stigmatization throughout Europe. The dominant worldview is not only perpetuated by the media, but also by the professionals (academics, planners, researchers, and scientists) charge with handling these issues.

According to Kilper et al (2009), stigmatization can greatly increase the vulnerability of districts. This is in a large part due to the aforementioned positive feedback loop associated with stigmatization, the downward spiral. Stigmatization of city districts can lead to “black-listing”, or preselection of certain areas for reduced or no funding for future projects by banks, investors, and the public sector, as was the case in parts of New York City and Boston during the 1950’s and 1960’s (Jacobs 1961). Reduced housing demand, dropping real estate value, and increased built form neglect, including destructive neglect such as vandalism, are some of the structural effects of long-term stigmatization. Among the population, the description of areas with negatively-associated terminology represents a massive threat to the identity and self-worth of residents (Bürk 2010).

While many social researchers describe the relationship of stigmatization in terms of “us” and “them”, Bürk (2010) describes a method for assessing stigmatization in relation to spatial issues not in terms of an “insider” and “outsider” group, but in terms of various stakeholders and users of the space. For the purposes of this paper, any party, group, person or legal body who has a legitimate interest in a space will be described as a **stakeholder**. The boundary between cultural “outside” and “inside” is not clear. To assume that people living in the same space have the same motivations, reasons for living there, and level of involvement in the shaping of their living situation based purely on the fact that they live in the same spatial region may mean homogenizing a population that is very diverse, and blending out critical decisive details (Bürk, personal communication). One may however test the assumption that stakeholder groups function within a similar range of actions in relation to hegemonic discourse and the actions of other stakeholders. For example, it may be reasonable to assume that large international holding firms with portfolios of hundreds of thousands of apartments place more emphasis on their profit margin than on the social wellbeing of their individual residents (Kaufmann 2010), or that residents and owners of buildings have different motivations for renovation. A graphic depiction of stakeholder groups examined in this paper is found in figure 28.

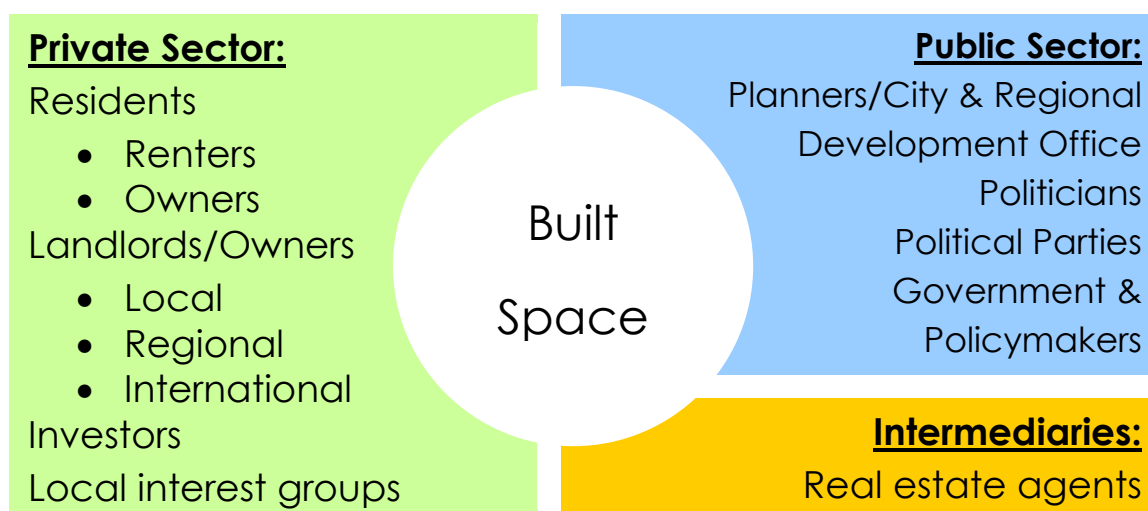


Figure 28. Diagram of built space stakeholders.

The various actors in the creation of space and the creation and perpetuation of discourse act and interact together in a complicated network. Some actors have the ability to affect the hegemonic discourse, but are themselves not affected by it, since they are not connected to the space (e.g. the media). Other actors may have the ability to affect the built structure, but not the discourse (e.g. the residents). These relationships are described in table 7 below.

Table 7. Active & passive relationships between the various actors and stakeholder groups and the discourse & built space.

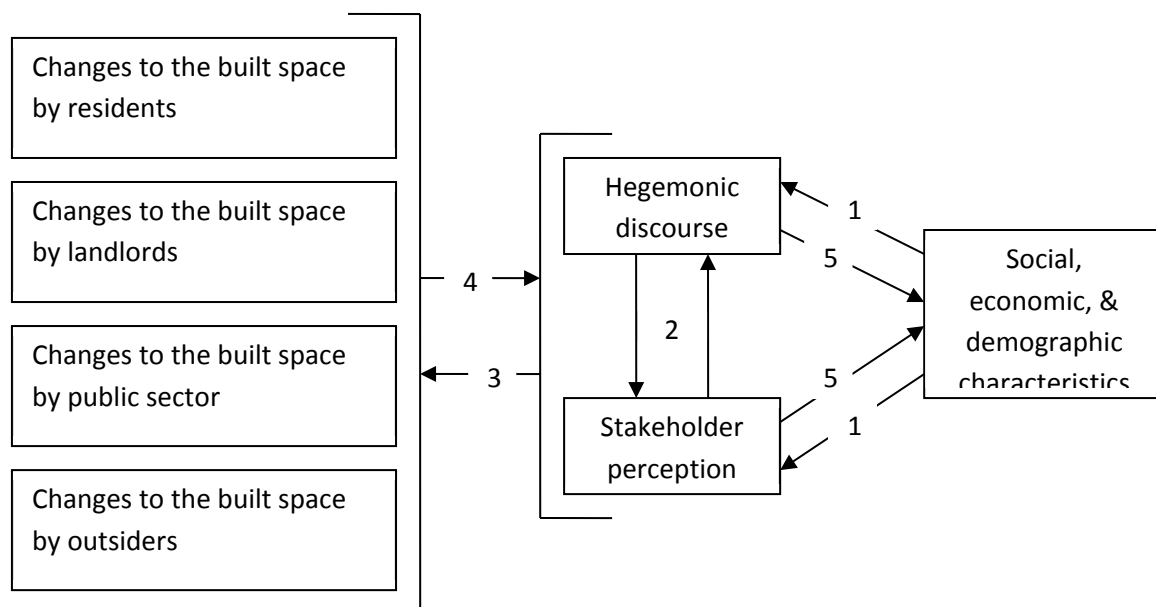
	Create or perpetuate discourse	Affected by discourse (stigmatized)	Can change built space	Directly affected by changes to built space
<b>Media</b>	x			
<b>Residents</b>		x	x	x
<b>Local landlords</b>		x	x	
<b>Regional landlords</b>		x	x	
<b>International</b>		x	x	



<b>landlords</b>				
<b>Investors</b>		possibly	possibly	
<b>Political parties</b>	x	possibly		
<b>Real estate agents</b>	possibly	possibly		
<b>Outsiders</b>	x		x	
<b>Local politicians</b>	x	possibly		
<b>Local interest groups</b>		x	possibly	possibly
<b>Planners</b>	x		x	
<b>Policymakers</b>	x			

In this research project, the interactive and reflexive role of **social, demographic, economic and structural characteristics** and **built structural characteristics** on both **hegemonic discourse** and **stakeholder perception** of the city districts Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg and Marzahn will be examined. To that end, this research proposal asks 5 questions (also displayed below graphically in **figure 29**):

1. What is the effect (if any) of social, economic, and demographic characteristics on hegemonic discourse and stakeholder perception?
2. What effect (if any) do hegemonic discourse and stakeholder perception have on each other (reflexive perception)?
3. What effect (if any) do hegemonic discourse and stakeholder perception have on changes in built structure from the private sector, public sector, and outsiders?
4. What effect (if any) do changes in built structure from the private sector, public sector, and outsiders have on hegemonic discourse and stakeholder perception?
5. Does a change in hegemonic discourse and stakeholder perception reflect itself in changes in social, economic, and demographic variables?



**Figure 29. Visual representation of the research questions. Arrows point from independent to dependent variables (more in section multiple regression below).**

To answer these questions, a method has been developed and divided into 3 work sections: derivation of data, spatial association of data, and multiple regression analysis. These are discussed in detail below.

## **Project Design**

### **Derivation of data**

The information required to answer the research questions consists of 3 parts – assessment of hegemonic discourse & stakeholder perception, social, demographic, structural, and economic information about the case study areas from 1989 until the present, and information about changes to the built structure in those areas within the same time period.

As mentioned in the introduction, there are many possible contributing factors to the intensification or abatement of district stigmatization. For ease of explanation, I have broken these factors into several categories – perception, demographics & statistics, public spaces and services, and structural and economic characteristics of the built structure. To generate the data needed for regression analysis and spatial association of characteristics, three techniques will be used: discourse analysis, stakeholder interviews, and a thorough analysis of demographic, rental, and other statistics. For visualization & locational correlation purposes, these data will be digitized in Geographic Information System (GIS) map layers.

### **Part 1: Discourse analysis and stakeholder interviews**

The most complex and work-intensive part of this project will be the assessment of current and historical perception of districts (hegemonic discourse). To achieve this, a discourse analysis adapted from the methods of Brailich, Keller, and Fairclough will be performed. Specifically, Brailich et al (2010) used relative frequency of keywords in national newspapers to assess the media-driven cultural discourse about large prefabricated apartment complexes (*Großwohnsiedlungen*). A similar technique will be used in this project. In the first part of this discourse analysis, keywords, both positive and negative, will be identified. These keywords will be weighted based on cultural deviation from the norm (very negative, somewhat negative, neutral, somewhat positive, very positive). A thorough media analysis of 2 Berlin newspapers for these keywords in relation to the three case study areas will be performed to analyze changing discourse within Berlin about the three districts since the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the case of digitized media of daily newspapers, a keyword search will take approximately one full day per year per newspaper, or about 40 days for 2 newspaper sources (personal communication, Kris Kaufmann).

To analyze stakeholder perception, interviews with stakeholders will be performed. In the first part of this section, a complete list will be made of owners, politicians, planners, investors, real estate agents, and local association managers as based on the stakeholder groups outlined in figure 28 & table 7. Personal, recorded interviews will be performed with these stakeholders. These interviews will be transcribed and assessed with a similar valuation scale to the discourse analysis. Estimation of workload for the interviews is approximately one full day per interview, from initial request to completed transcription and valuation (personal communication, Kris Kaufmann). As a replacement for interviews with residents, a questionnaire will be sent to all residents. A calculation of minimum response percentage will be performed to determine statistical confidence levels.

### **Part 2: Social, demographic, structural, and economic data**

In addition to the information above, data from 1989 until 2009 about the following variables will be gathered from the methods described above, public archives, and expert interviews.

**Table 8. Social, demographic, structural and economic data to be gathered.**

	Quality	Quantification
<b>Perception</b>	Hegemonic discourse	Scale 1 to 5 (1 – very stigmatized, 5 – very positive, 0 - unknown), 6 grades
	Stakeholder perception	Per stakeholder group, Scale 1 to 5 (1 – very stigmatized, 5 – very positive, 0 - unknown), 6 grades
<b>Demographics &amp; Statistics</b>	Resident age structure	In 10-year increments
	Number of families	Number of children under 18 per capita
	Unemployment	Percentage
	Single mothers	Number per capita, Percentage
	People receiving social financial support ( <i>Hartz 4, Wohngeld</i> )	Number per capita, Percentage
	Immigrant status	Number per capita, Percentage, By geographic region
	Gross demographic change	Percent change since 1989
	Number of residents	People per square meter
	Number of households	Households per square meter
	Education and training level of inhabitants	For persons over 14, level of education ( <i>Gesamtschule, Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium, Ausbildung, Hochschule Abschluss, Uni Abschluss, Masters/Diplom/Magister, Doktor/Professionelle Ausbildung</i> )
	Crime	Number of different types of crimes per capita
	Voting results	Percentage per party
<b>Public Spaces &amp; Services</b>	Income	€ per capita
	Number of associations & groups for residents	Numeric, gross
	Type of street	Number of lanes, intensity of traffic, Presence or absence of street tress, width of sidewalks, presence or absence of bike lane, street material
<b>Structural &amp; Economic Details of the Built Structure</b>	Public transportation	Public transportation hubs
	Amount & types of public space	Outlines shown on map
	Owner structure	Local or regional owner (private or <i>Wohngemeinschaft</i> ), Internationally-based housing agency, Social housing, Owned by inhabitants, Squat ( <i>Besetzhaus</i> ) (6 Grades)
	Age of buildings	Average age, in logical clustering
	Type of buildings	Categorized by building style and material ( <i>Grunderzeit Altbau, Nachkrieg 4-5 Stock Hochhaus (Lückenfüller), Plattenbau, usw</i> )
	Rental costs	Average € per square meter
	Purchase costs	Average € per square meter
	Empty buildings ( <i>Leerstand</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea

### Part 3: Changes to the built structure

Changes to the built structure can take several forms. For ease of analysis, actors in this part have been divided into three basic groups; the private sector, the public sector, and outsiders. The private sector includes investors, private housing agencies, and building owners. The public

sector includes all public and federal agencies. Outsiders are non-owners and non-residents. They may be visitors from other parts of the city or other countries.

Changes to the built structure from the private sector can take the form of renovation (*Sanierung*), both internal & external, changes to the building (*Umbau*), removal of buildings (*Rückbau*), and erection of new buildings (*Neubau*). The private sector can also be responsible for graffiti and vandalism. The private sector consists of 2 subgroups: residents and resident owners, and non-resident owners. This distinction is made on the assumption that residents and resident owners will be directly affected by changes to the built structure, and therefore have differing attitudes towards investment. The public sector changes the built form of the district through creation or renovation of public space, creation or renovation of public transportation, as well as monitoring traffic flows (for example through the creation of a bike lane, or through traffic calming), street trees, and other infrastructure. The public sector may also be responsible for renovation (*Sanierung*), both internal & external, changes to the building (*Umbau*), removal of buildings (*Rückbau*), and erection of new buildings (*Neubau*), in cases where the buildings are owned by the state (such as in the case of social housing). Because of a lack of ownership, outsiders have marginal ability to affect built space in districts. However, outsiders can affect built structure in unstructured ways such as graffiti & vandalism. Because of the impossibility of differentiation between graffiti & vandalism from the private sector and from outsiders, these changes to the built form have been categorized here as “unstructured”.

Information from 1989 until 2009 about the following variables will be gathered from the public archives, expert interviews, and media and photo analysis (in particular in the case of historical graffiti and vandalism assessment).

**Table 9. Data about changes to built form to be gathered.**

	<b>Change to Built Form</b>	<b>Quantification</b>
<b>Private Sector</b>	Internal Renovation ( <i>Sanierung</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
	External Renovation ( <i>Sanierung</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
	Changes to existing buildings ( <i>Umbau</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
	Removal of buildings ( <i>Rückbau</i> ) – Percentage	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
	Erection of new buildings ( <i>Neubau</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
<b>Public Sector</b>	Creation of public space	Square meterage as percentage of square meterage of district
	Renovation of public space	Square meterage as percentage of square meterage of district
	New public transportation	Gross
	Renovation of existing public transportation	Gross
	Renovation of existing infrastructure (repaving streets, repaving sidewalks)	Gross, in meters
	Addition of bike lane	Gross, in meters
	Traffic calming	Gross, in meters
	Street tree management	Number of trees planted or felled
	Internal Renovation ( <i>Sanierung</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
	External Renovation ( <i>Sanierung</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date

	Changes to existing buildings ( <i>Umbau</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
	Removal of buildings ( <i>Rückbau</i> ) – Percentage	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
	Erection of new buildings ( <i>Neubau</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea, with date
<b>Unstructured Changes</b>	Graffiti & Vandalism	Range 1 (little or none) to 5 (very much), 0 – unknown (6 grades)

### Spatial association of data

Both the qualities from part 1 and the changes to built structure from part 2 will be digitized in Geographic Information System (GIS) layers to aid in spatial correlation.

Inasmuch as is possible based on data availability, the variables for the themes perception, demographics & statistics, structural & economic details of the built structure, as well as all built space changes will be mapped in 5 year intervals. Public spaces & services will be mapped, with additional GIS layers where changes were made.

All three case study areas are comprised of neighborhoods, known in German as *Kieze* (singular: *Kiez*). In an attempt to create as clear a picture of the variation of the above-mentioned characteristics over the landscape as possible, all attempts will be made to make the mapping as small-grained as possible, where applicable following the *Kiez* structure.

### Multiple regression analysis

The purpose of using a multiple regression analysis in this research project is to attempt to tease out interactions and fine grades of correlation between complex and possibly inter-correlated variables. The statistical analysis portion of this project has been broken down into 11 multiple regressions, outlined below. The characters { } denote the set of all variables in a category, as outlined in detail in tables 8 & 9.

### 1. Effect of social, demographic, and structural characteristics on hegemonic discourse & stakeholder perception

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Demographics & statistics} {Public spaces and services} {Structural and economic characteristics of the built structure}	{Perception}

### 2. Effect of external and internal opinions on each other

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
Hegemonic discourse Stakeholder perception	Stakeholder perception Hegemonic discourse

### 3. Effect of opinions on actions

3a. Changes in built structure from private sector

*3a1. From residents*

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Perception}	{Private sector changes to built form}

*3a2. From landlords*

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Perception}	{Private sector changes to built form}

3b. Changes in built structure from public sector

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Perception}	{Public sector changes to built form}

3c. Unstructured changes in built structure from outsiders and/or private sector

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Perception}	{Unstructured}

	changes}
--	----------

### 4. Effect of actions on opinions

4a. Changes in built structure from private sector

*4a1. From residents*

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Private sector changes to built form}	{Perception}

*4a2. From landlords*

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Private sector changes to built form}	{Perception}

4b. Changes in built structure from public sector

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Public sector changes to built form}	{Perception}

4c. Unstructured changes in built structure from outsiders and/or private sector

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Unstructured changes}	{Perception}

### 5. Effect of change in opinion on social, economic & demographic variables

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
{Perception}	{Demographics & statistics} {Public spaces and services} {Structural and economic characteristics of the built structure}

### Additional Results

In addition to the numerical output of the regression analysis, and the analysis-related GIS maps, GIS maps of the regression results will be digitized for significant dependent variables.

### Case study areas

The author has chosen three contiguous districts of former East Berlin as her case study areas – Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg & Marzahn (figure 30).



Figure 30. The districts of Berlin. The case study areas are highlighted in yellow. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Friedrichshain is the eastern subdistrict (*Ortsteil*) of the administrative district Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Friedrichshain is the only case study area lying within the Berlin ring train (*Ringbahn*), the main light rail running around the central districts of the city, denoting a rough boundary to pre-1920 Berlin (*Alt-Berlin*). Much like other parts of former East Berlin (the best example being Prenzlauer Berg), the historical buildings of this district were neglected during the time of the German Democratic Republic (1949-1989). Friedrichshain has experienced several waves of industrialization and deindustrialization since the 1920s, culminating in the current repurposing of many former industrial buildings, especially along the Spree River. Since historic times a center of leftist political thought and a haven for students, Friedrichshain's resident demographic has experienced change and resulting social friction as neglected buildings have been renovated and rent prices have begun to rise above levels payable for the formerly predominantly working-class residents.

Lichtenberg is a subdistrict of the larger administrative district by the same name. For disambiguation purposes, the subdistrict is also known as Alt-Lichtenberg. Lichtenberg, along with many other outlying towns, was officially incorporated into the metropolitan area of Berlin in 1920 through the signing of the *Groß-Berlin-Gesetz*. This law extended the boundaries of the administrative and urban space to its current extent, from an area of 66 km<sup>2</sup> to 878 km<sup>2</sup>. Like its

neighboring district to the West, Lichtenberg has experienced waves of de- and reindustrialization. A tourism initiative was begun in 2007 and 2008 for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the incorporation of the town (*Stadtrecht*), and the district's economic development tends towards post-industrial service-based development (à la Bell 1974). Despite these trends, Lichtenberg, specifically certain streets and sub-neighborhoods (*Kieze*) of the district (e. g. Weitlingstraße/*Weitlingkiez*) are infamous for right-wing extremism (*Rechtsextremismus*) and resulting street violence, demonstrations, and opposing demonstrations from left-wing extremists, dating from well before the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Marzahn is a subdistrict of the administrative district Marzahn-Hellersdorf and home to the largest slab-built housing complex in Berlin of the same name. The furthest case study area from the center of Berlin, Marzahn was also incorporated into Berlin in 1920. At their 8<sup>th</sup> party congress in 1971, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* – *SED*) made the housing shortages in the German Democratic Republic (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik* – *DDR*) a main focus of social policy. The social housing complex in the new district of Marzahn was to be a proving ground for these plans. The majority of the prefabricated apartment buildings were erected between 1976 and 1979, and the original town green was restored in 1982. In 1987, in connection with the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Berlin, the Berlin garden show (*Berliner Gartenschau*), now known as the Marzahn recreation park including “Gardens of the World” (*Erholungspark Marzahn, Gärten der Welt*), was constructed. Demographic change since the fall of the Berlin Wall has led to varying vacancy rates in the high rise apartment buildings. Recent renovation, removal, and structural changes to many of the buildings has received attention both in and outside of Berlin.



## Timeline

	Phase	Proposed Calendar Dates	Proposed Length of Time Required
Preliminary Phase	Writing Exposé, Gathering information about potential advisers	June 15 <sup>th</sup> – July 12 <sup>th</sup>	3 Weeks
	<b>Discuss Exposé at IRS</b>	<b>~July 13<sup>th</sup></b>	
	Edits to Exposé	July 14 <sup>th</sup> – July 20 <sup>th</sup>	1 Week
	Contacting potential advisers with Exposé & CV	July 20 <sup>th</sup> – July 28 <sup>th</sup>	1 Week
	<b>Final Draft Exposé</b>	<b>July 28<sup>th</sup></b>	
	Applying for funding	July 28 <sup>th</sup> – August 25 <sup>th</sup>	4 Weeks
	• <b>Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung</b>	<b>01 September</b>	
	• Elsa-Neumann-Stipendium	10 October	
	• <b>Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung</b>	<b>31 October</b>	
	• Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung	30 November	
	• Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung	Anytime	
Funded through Doctoral Stipend	<b>Part 1: Derivation of Data*</b>		
	• Discourse analysis		<b>6 months</b>
	• Material acquisition		4 months
	• Analysis		2 months
	• Stakeholder interviews		<b>3 months</b>
	• Social, demographic, structural, and economic data		<b>6 weeks</b>
	• Changes to the built structure		<b>6 weeks</b>
		<b>Total time allotted:</b>	<b>12 months</b>
	<b>Part 2: Spatial Association of Data</b>		<b>3 months</b>
	<b>Part 3: Regression Analysis</b>		<b>3 months</b>
	<b>Part 4: Spatial association of results</b>		<b>3 months</b>
	<b>Part 5: Results (First writing phase)</b>		<b>3 months</b>
		<b>Total time allotted:</b>	<b>12 months</b>
	<b>First Draft to Advisers</b>	<b>At 24 months</b>	
Possible Stipend Extension	Feedback time		4 weeks
	<b>Part 6: Results (Final writing phase)</b>		<b>4 months</b>
	Feedback time		2 weeks
	<b>Part 7: Final editing</b>		<b>2 weeks</b>
		<b>Total time allotted:</b>	<b>6 months</b>
	<b>Final Draft to Advisers</b>	<b>At 30 months</b>	
	<b>Part 8: Finishwork &amp; Defense</b>		
	• Final Edits, Printing, Binding		<b>2 weeks</b>
	• Preparing Powerpoint		<b>6 weeks</b>
	<b>Defense</b>	<b>After 32 months</b>	
		<b>Overall time allotted:</b>	<b>32 months</b>

\* These steps will most likely be performed parallel.

## **Literature**

- Bell, Daniel.** 1974. *The coming of post-industrial society: A venture in social forecasting*. Basic Books. New York.
- Brailich, Adam, Mélina Germes, Henning Schirmel, Robert Pütz & Georg Glasze.** 2010. *Großwohnsiedlungen als bedrohliche und bedrohte Orte: Sicherheitsdiskurse in Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen*. In: Kongressband der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie 2008. Wiesbaden.
- Bürk, Thomas.** 2010. *Stigmatisierungsforschung im Leitprojekt 4: Stigmatisierungsprozesse von Städten in peripherisierten Regionen*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Fairclough, Norman.** 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. Taylor & Francis Ltd.
- Jacobs, Jane.** 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Vintage Books, New York.
- Kaufmann, Kristin.** 2010. *Arbeitstitel Dissertation: Kommunikationskultur und Handlungsstrategien städtischer Akteure nach der Komplettveräußerung kommunaler Wohnungsbestände in deutschen Städten im Strukturwandel*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Keller, Reiner, Andreas Hirsland, Werner Schneider & Willy Viehörer (ed.).** 2001. *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse, Band 1: Theorien & Methoden*. Leske & Budrich: Opladen.
- Kilper, Heiderose, Hans-Joachim Bürkner, Gabriela D. Christmann, Oliver Ebert, Heike Liebmann, & Timothy Moss.** 2009. *Vulnerabilität und Resilienz in sozio-räumlicher Perspektive: Forschungsdesign für das abteilungsübergreifende IRS-Projekt im Rahmen des Arbeitsprogramms 2009-2011*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Wessel, Karin.** 1996. *Empirisches Arbeiten in der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeographie*. Schöningh: Paderborn.
- Wodak, Ruth & Michael Meyer.** 2009. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. SAGE.

## Appendix 1.2: Hegemonic discourse, urban disorder & neighborhood stigma: On the reciprocal role of characteristics of, changes to and discourse about Friedrichshain & Marzahn, 1989-2009 (21 December 2010)

### Hegemonic discourse, urban disorder & neighborhood stigma:

On the reciprocal role of characteristics of, changes to and discourse about Friedrichshain & Marzahn, 1989-2009

#### **Abstract**

Discourse, signs of urban disorder, and stigmatization form a complex reciprocal system of action, reaction, and interaction that affects built structure and stakeholder alike. Spatial stigmatization, the labeling of districts and neighborhoods with negative descriptors, can come about for many reasons, most typically through social or physical characteristics, such as crime rates, resident demographic structure, or signs of urban disorder such as empty buildings, abandoned vehicles, and trash. Changes in the hegemonic discourse about a district can occur based on changes in these characteristics as well.

This research proposal outlines an attempt to tease out the relative importance of signs of urban disorder, changing hegemonic discourse, and stigmatization of built space types in the development of the Berlin districts of Friedrichshain and Marzahn over the course of 20 years. The author proposes to use a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, including cluster analysis, discourse analysis and interviews to assess the complex reciprocal relationship between changes to the built space, social, demographic, structural and economic statistics, and hegemonic discourse about a space.

The two case study areas have experienced different forms and intensities of stigmatization and labelling over the last 20 years, as well as further into the past. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, processes of de- and reindustrialization, gentrification, and demographic change have changed both the socioeconomic makeup of the residents and state of the built form in different ways, with varying effects on both hegemonic discourse and stakeholder perception of the space.

The main questions addressed in this project are:

1. Did reductions in signs of urban disorder reduce stigmatization and change the nature of the discourse about the study areas?
2. Did changes in demographic structure reduce stigmatization and change the nature of the discourse about the study areas?
3. What was the temporal relationship between changes in signs of urban disorder, demographic structure, stigmatization and the hegemonic discourse about the case study areas?

#### **Introduction**

##### *Theoretical Background: Stigma*

The American sociologist Erving Goffman brought the idea of stigmatization to the social forefront in 1963 with his book “Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity” (Goffman 1963). This research development coincided with the social and environmental revolutions of

the 1960s and 70s in the United States at the time and the increase in visibility of such “deviants”. Goffman identified 3 main forms of stigmata: a) bodily deformations, b) negative character traits and c) signs of “race, nation & religion” (Goffman 1963). This research initiative caught on in Germany in the 1960s and 70s through the work of Brusten and Hohmeyer (Bürk 2010).

**Stigmatization** is a social and cultural process through which **stigmata** (singular: stigma), negatively-regarded characteristics, are attributed to a person, group, or thing (Bürk 2010). The concept of stigmatization stems from the use of markings to identify slaves during Roman times (Goffman 1963). **Hegemonic stigmatization** describes stigmatization by the majority cultural group of a minority group or groups based on widely-accepted cultural beliefs, norms and mores. For hegemonic stigmatization to occur, a **dominant worldview** (the previously-mentioned widely-accepted cultural beliefs, norms and mores) must be present. Such dominant worldviews are inherently linked to scales of relative valuation, with the implicit or explicit identification of a society with a **normed ideal** or **ideals**, and the resulting implicit or explicit identification of **deviants** from that normed ideal/those normed ideals. This dominant worldview is repeated, enforced, and shaped primarily by media such as television, printed media and the internet, but can also be perpetuated by the professionals (academics, planners, researchers, and scientists) charged with handling these issues.

#### *Stigma in the Urban Context*

In typical cases of district stigmatization, districts are qualified or judged based on several characteristics, including but not limited to qualities associated with the residents (social) and/or the built structure (structural). As a rule, the stigmatization stems from changes to social or structural characteristics leading to a deviance from the norm or normed ideal.

In modern Germany, typical social sources of localized or spatially-based stigmatization follow the same pattern as described by Goffman; physical changes leading to a deviation from the cultural ideal of the “clean and orderly” city (“*ordentlichen und sauberen*” Stadt) (Bürk 2010), “bad behavior” in the form of crime or vandalism, and negatively-valued or deviant (from the normed ideal) resident characteristics such as age, ethnicity, gender or economic or social situation. Typical examples are demographic change (“shrinking cities”, “aging cities”) (Bürk 2010), political extremism (demonstrations, “neo-Nazis”, “skinheads”) (A. Brailich, M. Germes, et al. 2008) (A. Brailich, M. Germes, et al. 2010), and immigrant neighborhoods (“little Istanbul”, “klein Moskau”) (Merseburger 1998) (Ataman 2009).

In addition to these social stigmata, various structural characteristics of built space are also stigmatized. For example, types and qualities of built form are valued differently based on changing socio-cultural value systems, leading in extreme cases to labeling of entire districts. As examined by Brailich and his coauthors (2008), specific types of built structures (in this case, large blocks of prefabricated slab apartment buildings (German: *Plattenbau*)) are recipients of an inordinate amount of stigmatization throughout Europe<sup>15</sup>. This research is supported by the findings of Rietdorf, Liebmann & Haller (2001) and Bernt and Kabisch (2006), among others. Some examples of structural stigmata not to do with the type of building include graffiti, high vacancy rates, the age and condition of buildings, and the structure and condition of spatially associated public facilities such as park space and public transportation.

---

<sup>15</sup> See also: (A. Brailich, M. Germes, et al. 2010)

This project addresses 3 key factors in the creation, perpetuation, and/or removal of neighborhood stigmatization: signs of deviance and disorder, hegemonic discourse, and demographic characteristics (figure 31). The role of disorder in neighborhood stigmatization, particularly in regard to mortgage blacklisting in New York City, was discussed as early as 1961 (Jacobs 1961). Signs of disorder can range from the proverbial “broken window” to public drunkenness, panhandling, loitering, trash, unrenovated houses, abandoned lots, and public urination (Sampson and Raudenbush 2005). In this project, signs of disorder will be limited to those having to do with the built space, in particular type of building, age of building stock, condition of building stock, etc.

According to further research by Sampson & Raudenbush (2004) and Franzini et al. (2008), it is not only the physical and structural characteristics of a neighborhood that attribute to the perception of disorder, but its socioeconomic and racial composition as well. For this reason, the author has chosen to include demographic characteristics such as percentage of immigrants, income level, and education level in her methodology (for detailed information about demographic data to be gathered, please see table 11).

The perception of disorder may also increase fear of crime, leading to further shunning of the neighborhood (Price 2007) (Hipp 2010) (Brunton-Smith and Jackson 2010) (Jackson, Gray and Brunton-Smith 2010). In addition, the **hegemonic discourse** about a neighborhood (the way the dominant cultural group talks about, refers to or characterizes a neighborhood) can create, perpetuate or play a hand in removing the stigmatization.

Several researchers in Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States have touched on the manipulation of these attributes in their work with “neighborhood branding” (Fasselt and Zimmer-Hegmann 2006) (Fasselt and Zimmer-Hegmann 2008), “challenging images” (Dean and Hastings 2000) (Hastings and Dean 2001) (Hastings and Dean 2003) (Hastings 2004), “neighborhood reputation” (Permentier, van Ham and Bolt 2007) (Permentier, van Ham and Bolt 2008) (Permentier, Bolt and van Ham 2010), and “neighborhood satisfaction” (Hipp 2009).

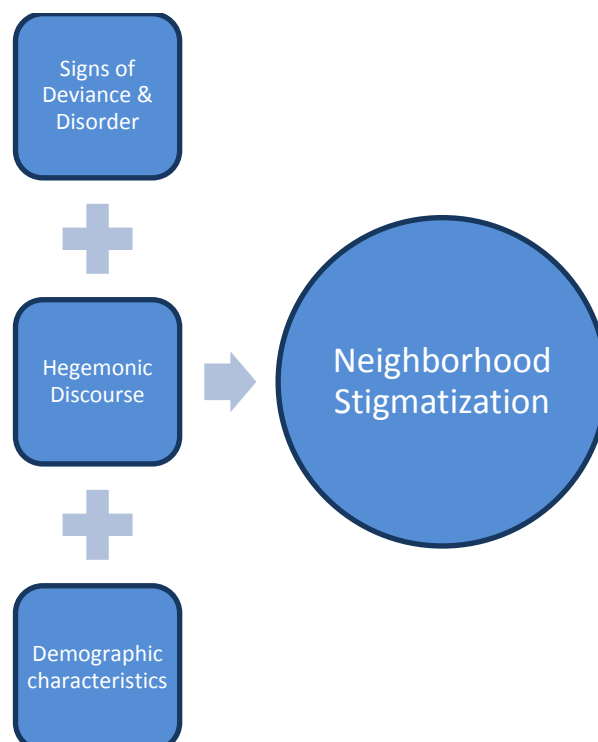


Figure 31. Key factors in the creation and perpetuation of neighborhood stigmatization.

Changes or combinations of changes in these three factors can lead to intensification of stigmatization in already-stigmatized neighborhoods (**downward spiral**), perpetuation of a stigmatized state (**steady state**), or dissipation of previous stigmatization (**destigmatization**<sup>16</sup>). This relationship is described visually in figure 32.

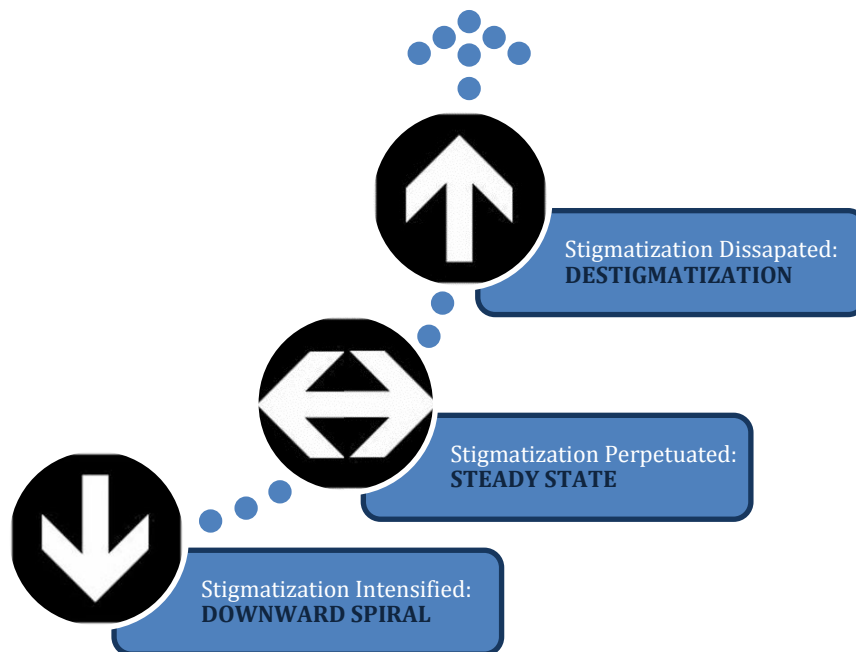


Figure 32. Visual depiction of changes in stigmatization.

According to Kilper et al (2009), stigmatization can greatly increase the vulnerability of districts<sup>17</sup>. This is in a large part due to the positive (i.e. self-reinforcing) feedback loop associated with stigmatization (downward spiral). Reduced housing demand, dropping real estate value, and increased built form neglect, including destructive neglect such as vandalism, are some of the structural effects of long-term stigmatization. Among the population, the description of areas with negatively-associated terminology represents a massive threat to the identity and self-worth of residents (Schulze and Spindler 2006) (Bürk 2010).

### *Historical Background*

Postwar Germany experienced serious housing shortages for a number of reasons. First and foremost, the destruction of large swaths of buildings led to natural housing shortages. In addition to these conditions, natural population growth after the war led to increased demand on the already short housing supply.

The dissimilar urban development of East and West Germany in response to this among other pressures was based primarily on differing political and economic systems. In West Germany, free market capitalism and social democracy meant that social housing, erected in the form of large-scale housing projects, housed mainly immigrants and lower social and economic classes. Citizens with the means to elevate their status moved to single-family homes,

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed discussion of various destigmatization processes (for example reurbanization, neighborhood appreciation (German: *Aufwertung*) and gentrification), please see (Kabisch, Haase and Haase 2010, p. 968-970).

<sup>17</sup> The role of discourse and reputation in urban vulnerability is examined in further detail in the work of the Leibniz Institute's current interdivisional research project on resilience and vulnerability (2009-2011), for example the work of Manfred Kühn (2009) and Thomas Bürk (2010).

developments of which sprung up on the outskirts of most large cities (Rietdorf, Liebmann and Haller 2001).

East Germany saw the housing problem as a possibility to enact public policy and further the socialist goal of a baseline of provision for every citizen (Kinne 2001) (Rietdorf, Liebmann and Haller 2001). To this end, large tracts of *Plattenbau* (large-scale prefabricated apartment complexes) were erected, mostly in the 1970s and 80s. In contrast to West Germany, Eastern German large scale-housing complexes housed a mixture of income levels and were designed for the socialist ideal of a family with 2 employed parents and 2 children. Whereas West German developments of the time were often integrated into existing city structure, East German developments often created entire new districts, the mixture of uses in which further supported again the socialist family ideal.

In many ways, the dissimilar development to meet similar housing needs embodies the different socio-political forces at work. While the East German *Plattenbau Siedlungen* served to reinforce the socialist ideal of equality, West German single family houses embodied the capitalist ideal of the home as castle, as luxurious or different as means and tastes allowed.

These two different cultural ideals diverged radically from their communal starting point in 1949, developing independently over the following 40 years. The fall of the Berlin wall brought these two cultural mores into conflict. In the years after 1989, the urban development hegemonic ideals of the West were imposed upon East Germany, leading to initial stigmatization and radical changes in the development of the East in the following years.

#### *Case Study Areas*

The author has chosen two districts of former East Berlin as her case study areas – Friedrichshain & Marzahn (figure 33).





restored in 1982. In 1987, in connection with the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Berlin, the Berlin garden show (*Berliner Gartenschau*), now known as the Marzahn recreation park including “Gardens of the World” (*Erholungspark Marzahn, Gärten der Welt*), was constructed. Demographic change since the fall of the Berlin Wall has led to varying vacancy rates in the high rise apartment buildings. Recent renovation, removal, and structural changes to many of the buildings has received attention both in and outside of Berlin (Renner 2009).

#### *The Creation of Discourse – Actor Groups and Stakeholders*

While many social researchers describe the relationship of stigmatization in terms of “us” and “them”, Bürk (2010) describes a method for assessing stigmatization in relation to spatial issues not in terms of an “insider” and “outsider” group, but in terms of various stakeholders, actor groups and users of the space. For the purposes of this paper, any party, group, person or legal body who has a legitimate interest in a space will be described as a **stakeholder**. Any party, group, person, or legal body that can affect the discourse or built space but does not have a vested interest in the space will be described as an **actor** or **actor group**. These interests are discussed in further detail in table 10.

The logic behind this approach to user groups stems from the assertion that the boundary between cultural “outside” and “inside” is not clear. To assume that people living in the same space have the same motivations, reasons for living there, and level of involvement in the shaping of their living situation based purely on the fact that they live in the same spatial region may mean homogenizing a population that is very diverse, and blending out critical details (Bürk, personal communication) (Pinel 1999). One may however test the assumption that stakeholder groups function within a similar range of actions in relation to hegemonic discourse and the actions of other stakeholders. For example, it may be reasonable to assume that large international holding firms with portfolios of hundreds of thousands of apartments place more emphasis on their profit margin than on the social wellbeing of their individual residents (Kaufmann 2010) or that residents and owners of buildings have different motivations for renovation. A graphic depiction of stakeholder groups examined in this paper is found in figure 34.

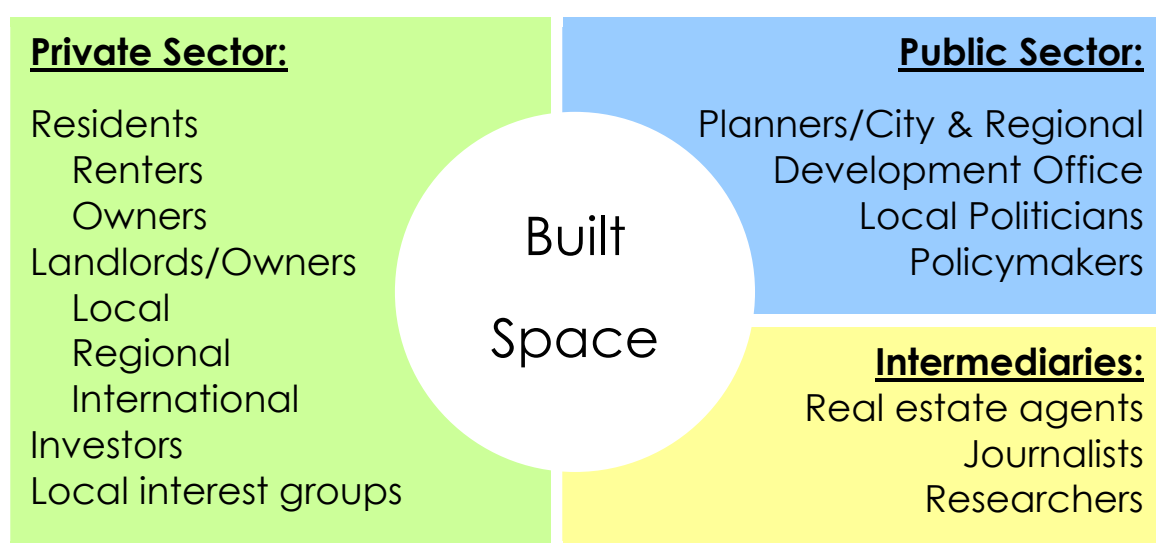


Figure 34. Diagram of built space stakeholders.

The various actors in the creation of space and the creation and perpetuation of discourse act and interact together in a complicated network. Some actors have the ability to affect the hegemonic discourse, but are themselves not affected by it, since they are not connected to the space (e.g. the media). Other actors may have the ability to affect the built structure, but not the discourse (e.g. the residents). These relationships are described in table 10 below.

In addition to a hegemonic (majority-driven) discourse, the possibility exists that a marginalized (minority-driven, usually from the stigmatized group itself) discourse exists (Dieter Rink, personal communication). In such situations, stigmatized or otherwise marginalized groups attempt to defend themselves and the reputation of their district or housing complex against the hegemonic discourse by creating their own discourse. Unfortunately, due to limited resources the marginalized discourse often does not gain much ground.

**Table 10. Active & passive relationships between the various actors and stakeholder groups and the discourse & built space.**

	Create or perpetuate hegemonic discourse	Create or perpetuate marginalized discourse	Affected by hegemonic discourse (stigmatized)	Can change built space	Directly affected by changes to built space
<b>Media</b>	x	possibly			
<b>Residents</b>		possibly	x	x	x
<b>Local landlords</b>		possibly	x	x	x
<b>Regional landlords</b>		possibly	x	x	x
<b>International landlords</b>		possibly	x	x	x
<b>Investors</b>		possibly	possibly	possibly	
<b>Researchers</b>	x	possibly	possibly		
<b>Real estate agents</b>	possibly	possibly	possibly		
<b>Outsiders</b>	x	possibly		x	
<b>Local politicians</b>	x	possibly	possibly		
<b>Local interest groups</b>		possibly	x	possibly	possibly
<b>Planners</b>	x	possibly		x	
<b>Policymakers</b>	x	possibly			

### *Research Questions*

The main questions addressed in this project are:

1. Did reductions in signs of urban disorder reduce stigmatization and change the nature of the discourse about the study areas?
2. Did changes in demographic structure reduce stigmatization and change the nature of the discourse about the study areas?
3. What was the temporal relationship between changes in signs of urban disorder, demographic structure, stigmatization and the hegemonic discourse about the case study areas?

The possible relationship between the four factors to be examined is depicted below in figure 35. This project is an attempt to discover the relative importance over time and the reciprocal relationship between these 4 factors.

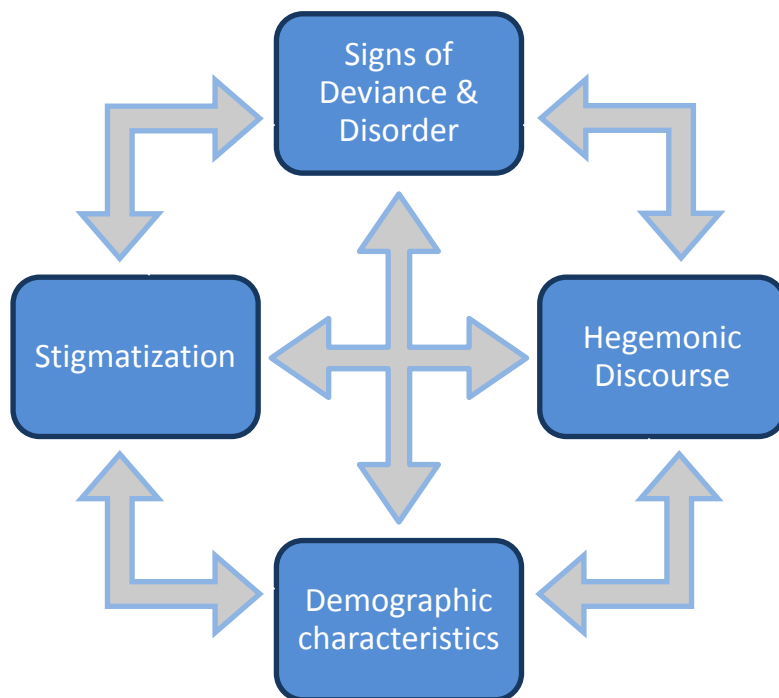


Figure 35. Visual representation of the research problem.

To examine the answers to these questions, the author details a research method in the section below.

### **Project Design**

This project is concerned with both theory verification and theory generation. For that reason, the project combines both qualitative and quantitative methods to answer the research questions. The project has been broken into three main work sections. To begin, a quantitative analysis of demographic and structural data and a comparative case study analysis of the two case study areas based on a media-based discourse analysis, literature & historical research, and stakeholder interviews will be performed. From these data, part 3, the development of concepts and propositions, will be performed.

The first part of this project attempts to test the theory that demographic data and changes to signs of disorder have an effect on the perception (hegemonic discourse, intra-city and stakeholder perceptions) of a neighborhood. This theory has been postulated and perpetuated by several researchers in the years following Wilson and Kelling's "Broken Windows" theory (Sampson and Raudenbush 2005). More information about this research is found in the section entitled "Stigma in the urban context". The second part of the project seeks to generate theory by describing the case-specific interplay of the 4 factors shown in figure 35. A flowchart of the research process is outlined below in figure 36.

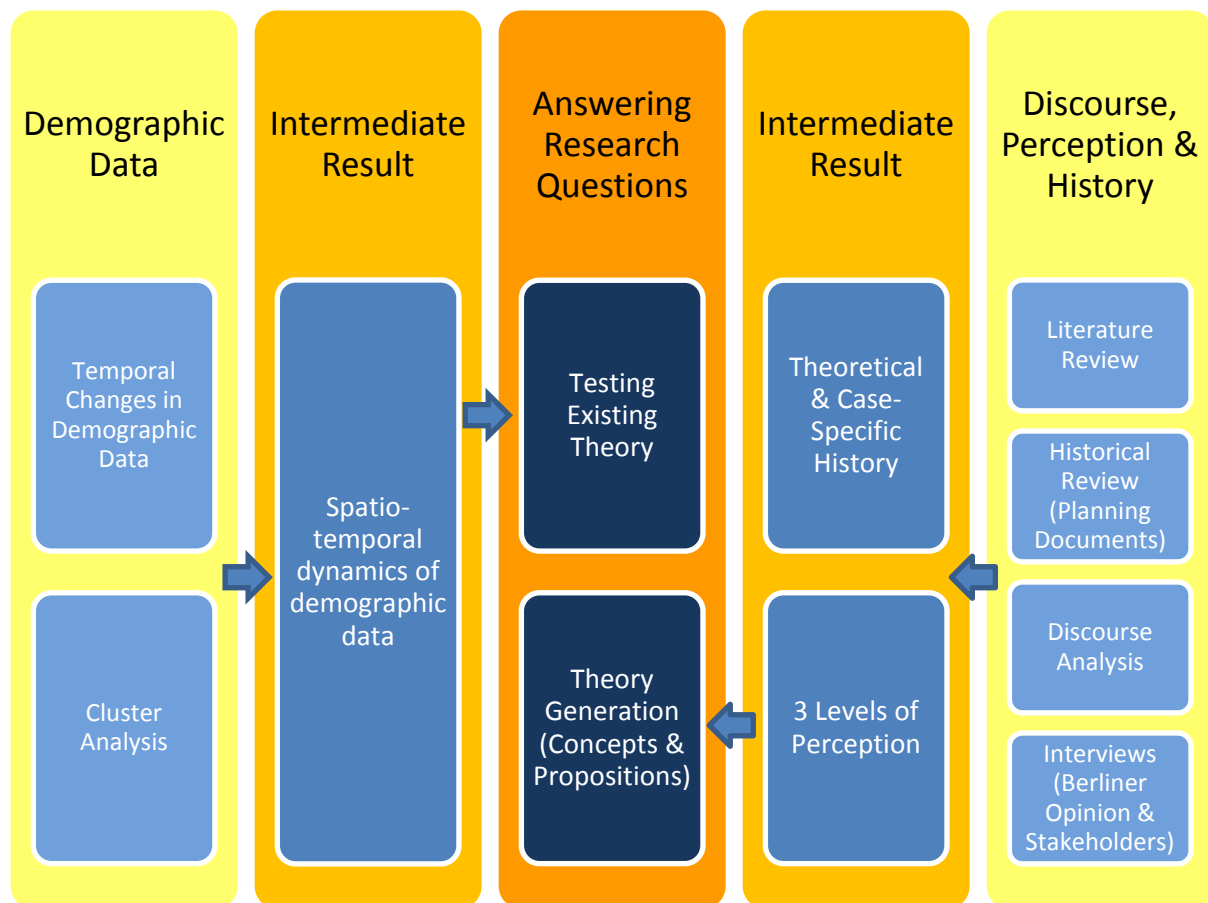


Figure 36. Flowchart of research process.

### Part 1: Demographic Data

#### Temporal Changes in Demographic Data

The author will gather demographic and spatial data about the two case study areas from the period 1989 to 2009. This data is available from the planning bureau of Berlin. Specifics are found in table 11 below.

These data will be synthesized, where appropriate, into graphs, tables, and GIS layers.

Table 11. Social, demographic, and structural data to be gathered for the case study areas.

	Quality	Quantification
<b>Demographics &amp; Statistics</b>	Resident age structure	In 10-year increments
	Number of families	Number of children under 18 per capita
	Unemployment	Percentage
	Single mothers	Number per capita; Percentage
	People receiving social financial support ( <i>Hartz 4, Wohngeld</i> )	Number per capita; Percentage
	Immigrant status	Number per capita; Percentage, By geographic region
	Gross demographic change	Percent change since last measurement
	Resident density	People per square meter
	Household size	Percentage breakdown of 1, 2, 3, and 4+ person households; Average number of persons per household
	Number of households	Households per square meter

	Quality	Quantification
	Education and training level of inhabitants	For persons over 14, level of education ( <i>Gesamtschule, Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium, Ausbildung, Hochschule Abschluss, Uni Abschluss, Masters/Diplom/Magister, Doktor/Professionelle Ausbildung</i> )
	Crime	Number of different types of crimes per capita
	Voting results	Percentage per party
	Income	€ per capita
	Number of associations & groups for residents	Numeric, gross
<b>Public Spaces &amp; Services</b>	Public transportation	Public transportation stops
	Public space	Percentage of total area of district
<b>Built Space Characteristics</b>	Owner structure	Percentage of each type - Local or regional owner (private or <i>Wohngemeinschaft</i> ), Internationally-based housing agency, Social housing, Owned by inhabitants, Squat ( <i>Besetzthaus</i> ), Other (7 Categories)
	Age of buildings	Average age, in logical clustering
	Type of buildings	Percentage of each type, categorized by building style and material ( <i>Grunderzeit Altbau, Nachkrieg 4-5 Stock Hochhaus (Lückenfüller), Plattenbau, usw</i> )
	Rental costs	Average DM or € per square meter
	Purchase costs	Average DM or € per square meter
	Empty buildings ( <i>Leerstand</i> )	As percentage of square meterage in the subarea
	Last renovation ( <i>Sanierung</i> )	In 10 year increments
<b>Built Space Changes</b>	Current renovations ( <i>Sanierung</i> )	Percentage of district
	Investment	Averaged in DM or € per square Kilometer
	Changes to existing buildings ( <i>Umbau</i> )	Percentage of district
	Removal of buildings ( <i>Rückbau</i> )	Percentage of district
	Renovation of existing infrastructure (repaving streets, repaving sidewalks)	Percentage of district
	Erection of new buildings ( <i>Neubau</i> )	Percentage of district

### Cluster Analyses

In addition to the spatio-temporal demographic changes examined above, 2 cluster analyses will be performed following the work of Kabisch, Haase & Haase (2010). Kabisch et al (2010) used four non-collinear variables with Ward's method for clustering districts of Leipzig in respect to reurbanization. Squared Euclidean distance was used as the distance measure.

Using this method, a primary Berlin-wide cluster analysis will be performed for all 95 districts (*Ortsteile*) of Berlin using a small subselection of non-collinear variables from the demographic data listed in table 11, at 3 year intervals from 1989 until 2009. Some examples of appropriate variables are percentage of immigrants, resident age structure, unemployment, and investment in €/km<sup>2</sup>. This cluster analysis will show change in grouping of clusters across Berlin since the reunification of the city.

## Part 2: Comparative Case Study Analysis

The second part of the project design consists of a comparative case study analysis. The main tools used in this section are an in-depth literature and historical review, a newspaper-based discourse analysis, and interviews with various stakeholders, actors, and actor groups. These techniques will be used in combination with the grounded theory method of Glaser and Strauss<sup>18</sup> to create an explanatory comparative case study analysis for the two case study areas.

### Literature and Historical Review

The author has already identified several key sources in the literature that will support her work. The work of Hartmut Häußermann (in particular (Häußermann and Kapphan 2000)) will be of particular historical importance. In addition, planning documents from the urban planning bureau of Berlin will be critical in understanding executive decisions regarding urban development following 1990.

In addition, further research, in particular following the work of Bürk, Fasselt & Zimmer-Hegmann, Dean & Hastings, Permentier, van Ham & Bolt, and Hipp, will be performed (please see source list for particulars).

### Discourse Analysis

For this project, perception has been divided into 3 levels: hegemonic, intracity (non-stakeholder Berliner), and stakeholder (figure 37). Hegemonic perception will be measured and analyzed through a newspaper-based discourse analysis. The other two perception levels will be examined through interviews, as explained in the next section.

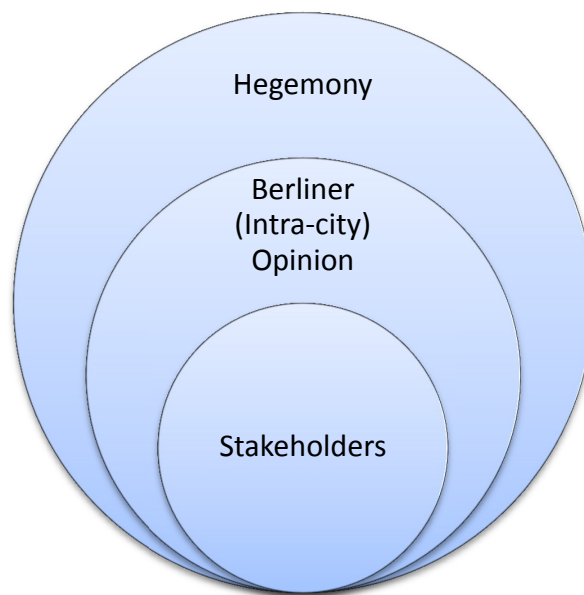


Figure 37. Visual representation of the discourse levels in this project.

A discourse analysis adapted from the methods of Brailich (2010) using relative frequency of keywords in national newspapers to assess the media-driven cultural discourse about large prefabricated apartment complexes (*Großwohnsiedlungen*) will be performed. A thorough media analysis of 2 Berlin newspapers for keywords in relation to the case study areas will be performed to analyze changing discourse about the two districts since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

<sup>18</sup> As informed by the work of Charmaz (2006).

These keywords will be informed by the literature. In the case of digitized media of daily newspapers, a keyword search will take approximately one full day per year per newspaper, or about 40 days for 2 newspaper sources (Kris Kaufmann, personal communication).

In addition, the author will draw on the work of Fairclough (Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research 2003) and Keller et al. (Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskurseanalyse, Band 1: Theorien & Methoden 2001) in this project.

### Interviews

To analyze the remaining 2 levels of perception, structured and semi-structured personal and group interviews will be performed with the various stakeholder and actor groups. The specifics of the interviews to be performed are detailed in table 12.

**Table 12. Types of interviews to be performed, including information about whether the interview will be performed in person or by telephone, in a group or one-on-one, and if the interview will be structured, semistructured, or unstructured. Where the information bridges both columns, appropriate related interviewees will be selected from within Berlin or the subject matter (in the case of researchers).**

	<b>1241BBerliner Non-Stakeholder</b>	<b>Stakeholder</b>
<b>Residents – Renters</b>	-	Group, In person, Semistructured
<b>Residents – Owners</b>	-	Group, In person, Semistructured
<b>Landlords - Local</b>	One-on-One, In person, Semistructured	Group, In person, Semistructured
<b>Landlords - Regional</b>	One-on-One, In person, Semistructured	One-on-One, In person, Semistructured
<b>Landlords - International</b>	One-on-One, Telephone, Structured	One-on-One, Telephone, Structured
<b>Investors</b>	One-on-One, In person, Structured/Semistructured	One-on-One, In person, Structured/Semistructured
<b>Local interest groups</b>	One-on-One, In person, Semistructured	One-on-One, In person, Semistructured
<b>Planners/City &amp; Regional Development Office</b>	Group, In person, Semistructured	
<b>Local politicians</b>	One-on-One, In person, Structured/Semistructured	One-on-One, In person, Structured/Semistructured
<b>Policymakers</b>	Group, In person, Structured/Semistructured	
<b>Real estate agents</b>	Group, In person, Structured/Semistructured	
<b>Journalists</b>	One-on-One, In person, Structured/Semistructured	
<b>Researchers</b>	One-on-One, In person, Semistructured	

To analyze non-stakeholder Berliner opinion, a random double sample of the actor groups outlined in table 12 will be performed using the pool of all possible actors in all the parts of Berlin not included in the case study areas. Stakeholder perception will be assessed through the interviews above for as many affected persons as possible. A calculation of minimum response percentage will be performed to determine statistical confidence levels. Data derivation techniques will involve personal, recorded interviews and mental maps, among others. The interviews will be transcribed. Estimation of workload for the interviews is approximately one full day per interview, from initial request to completed transcription and valuation (personal communication, Kris Kaufmann).

### *Part 3: Developing Concepts & Propositions*

In the last part of this project, concepts and propositions will be developed from the 2 research sections with the intention of furthering the development of theory on the role of signs of disorder, hegemonic discourse, and demographics in the creation, perpetuation and removal of stigmatization of urban areas. This work step follows a typical grounded-theory approach.

This step will also test the ability of the case study work performed in this project for generalization and use in other studies.



## Timeline

		Funding	Progress Part 1 (Cluster Analysis)	Progress Part 2 (Case Study Analysis)	Writing & Research	Section Deadlines		
2011	January		Data Acquisition	Background Literature: Berlin, Qualitative Methods, Method for Discourse Analysis	Background Literature: Stigmatization		January	2011
	February	Böll, Elsa Neumann					February	
	March	Studienstiftung des Dts. Volkes	Cluster Analysis				March	
	April	Friedrich-Ebert, Böckler				Writing: Introduction, Concept, Background	April	
	May					May		
	June		Data Acquisition & Processing			June		
	July			Writing: Cluster Analysis Results	Introduction, Concept, Background	July		
	August				Cluster Analysis Results	August		
	September		Graphical Depiction			September		
	October			Writing: Discourse Analysis Results		October		
	November					November		
	December				Discourse Analysis Results	December		
2012	January			Interviews			January	2012
	February				Writing: Interviews, Concepts & Propositions		February	
	March						March	
	April	Frauenförderung					April	
	May			Concepts & Propositions				
	June					June		
	July					July		
	August				Final Writing Phase	Interviews, Concepts, Propositions	August	
	September						September	
	October						October	
	November						November	
	December						December	
2013	January						Submission for Final Critique	January
	February				Powerpoint		February	
	March						March	
	April					Defense	April	

## **Literature**

- Ataman, Ferda. "Staatsbesuch in Little Istanbul." *Tagesspiegel*. March 17, 2009.  
<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/staatsbesuch-in-little-istanbul/1474666.html>  
(accessed December 19, 2010).
- Bernt, Matthias, and Sigrun Kabisch. "Ostdeutsche Grosswohnsiedlungen zwischen Stabilisierung und Niedergang." *disP* 164, January 2006: 5-15.
- Brailich, Adam, Mélina Germes, Henning Schirmel, Robert Pütz, and Georg Glasze. "Großwohnsiedlungen als bedrohliche und bedrohte Orte: Sicherheitsdiskurse in Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen." *Kongressband der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie 2008*. Wiesbaden, 2010.
- Brailich, Adam, Mélinda Germes, Henning Schirmel, Georg Glaszke, and Robert Pütz. "Die diskursive Konstitution von Großwohnsiedlungen in Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen." *Europa Regional* 16, 2008: 113-128.
- Brunton-Smith, Ian, and Jonathan Jackson. "Neighbourhood Clustering and the Fear of Crime: Examining Spatial Autocorrelation Using British Crime Survey Data." In *Urban Fabric of Crime & Fear*, by V. Ceccato. Springer, 2010.
- Bürk, Thomas. *Stigmatisierungsforschung im Leitprojekt 4: Stigmatisierungsprozesse von Städten in peripherisierten Regionen*. Unpublished manuscript, 2010.
- Charmaz, K. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006.
- Dean, Jo, and Annette Hastings. *Challenging images: housing estates, stigma & regeneration*. Bristol: The Policy Press, 2000.
- Fairclough, Norman. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2003.
- Fasselt, Jan, and Ralf Zimmer-Hegmann. "Neighbourhood Branding – Ein Ansatz zur Verbesserung des Images von Großwohnsiedlungen. Erste Erfahrungen aus einem INTERREG IIIB-Projekt." *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung, Heft 3/4*, 2006: 203-214.
- . "Ein neues Image für benachteiligte Quartiere: Neighbourhood Branding als wirksamer Ansatz? ." *Quartierforschung*, March 2008: 233-255.
- Franzini, Luisa, Margaret O'Brien Caughy, Murray Nettles, and Patricia O'Campo. "Perceptions of disorder: Contributions of neighborhood characteristics to subjective perceptions of disorder." *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Volume 28 2008: 83-93.
- Goffman, Erving. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1963.
- Hastings, Annette. "Stigma and social housing estates: Beyond pathological explanations." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, Volume 19, Number 3 2004: 233-254.
- Hastings, Annette, and Jo Dean. "Challenging Images: the implications of 'image management' for the regeneration of stigmatised housing estates." *Paper presented at the conference Area based initiatives in contemporary urban policy Danish Building and Urban Research/European Urban Research Association 17-19 May*. Copenhagen, 2001.

- . "Challenging images: tackling stigma through estate regeneration." *Policy & Politics*, Volume 31, Issue 2 2003: 171-184.
- Häußermann, Hartmut, and Anreas Kapphan. *Berlin: Von der geteilten zur gespaltenen Stadt? Soziolräumlicher Wandel seit 1990*. Oppladen: Leske & Budrich, 2000.
- Hipp, John R. "Specifying the Determinants of Neighborhood Satisfaction: A Robust Assessment in 24 Metropolitan Areas over Four Time Points." *Social Forces*, 2009.
- . "A dynamic view of neighborhoods: The reciprocal relationship between crime and neighborhood structural characteristics." *Social Problems*, 2010.
- Jackson, Jonathan, Emily Gray, and Ian Brunton-Smith. *Decoding Disorder: On Public Sensitivity to Low-Level Deviance*. March 10, 2010.  
[http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1567953](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1567953) (accessed December 19, 2010).
- Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, 1961.
- Kabisch, Nadja, Dagmar Haase, and Annegret Haase. "Evolving Reurbanisation? Spatio-temporal Dynamics as Exemplified by the East German City of Leipzig." *Urban Studies*, May 2010: 967-990.
- Kaufmann, Kristin. *Arbeitstitel Dissertation: Kommunikationskultur und Handlungsstrategien städtischer Akteure nach der Komplettveräußerung kommunaler Wohnungsbestände in deutschen Städten im Strukturwandel*. Unpublished manuscript, 2010.
- Keller, Reiner, Andreas Hirseland, Werner Schneider, and Willy Viehörer. *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskurseanalyse, Band 1: Theorien & Methoden*. Oppladen: Leske & Budrich, 2001.
- Kilper, Heiderose, Hans-Joachim Bürkner, Gabriela D. Christmann, Oliver Ebert, Heike Liebmann, and Timothy Moss. *Vulnerabilität und Resilienz in sozio-räumlicher Perspektive: Forschungsdesign für das abteilungsübergreifende IRS-Projekt im Rahmen des Arbeitsprogramms 2009-2011*. Unpublished Manuscript, 2009.
- Kinne, Nadine. *Die "Platte" als Ausdruck sozialistischer Ideologie, Industrialisierter Wohnungsbau in der DDR, aktuelle Tendenzen*. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag, 2001.
- Kühn, Manfred. *Peripherisierung - als regionaler Kontext von Städten*. Unpublished Manuscript, 2009.
- Merseburger, Peter. "Klein-Moskau an der Spree." *Zeit Online*. December 10, 1998.  
[http://www.zeit.de/1998/51/Klein-Moskau\\_an\\_der\\_Spree](http://www.zeit.de/1998/51/Klein-Moskau_an_der_Spree) (accessed December 19, 2010).
- Permentier, Matthieu, Gideon Bolt, and Maarten van Ham. "Determinants of Neighbourhood Satisfaction and Perception of Neighbourhood Reputation." *Urban Studies*, August 18, 2010.
- Permentier, Matthieu, Maarten van Ham, and Gideon Bolt. "Same Neighbourhood ... Different Views? A Confrontation of Internal and External Neighbourhood Reputations." *Housing Studies*, Volume 23, Number 6 2008: 833-855.
- . "Behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations ." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, Volume 22, Number 2 2007: 199-213.

- Pinel, E. C. "Stigma consciousness: The psychological legacy of social stereotypes." *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Volume 76, Number 1 1999: 114-128.
- Price, Gregory N. "Broken windows in the "hood": Crime & housing characteristics." *2007 ASSA National Economic Association paper session on Crime, Criminal Justice, and African Americans*. Chicago, 2007.
- Punch, Keith F. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches 2nd Edition*. London: Sage, 2005.
- Renner, Kay. *Großwohnsiedlungen in Ostberlin: Das Beispiel Marzahn*. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag, 2009.
- Rietdorf, Werner, Heike Liebmann, and Christoph Haller. "Schrumpfende Städte - verlassene Grosssiedlungen? Stadtstrukturelle Bedeutung und Problemem von Grosswohnsiedlungen." *disP* 146, 2001: 4-12.
- Sampson, Robert J., and Stephen W. Raudenbush. "Neighborhood stigma & the perception of disorder." *Focus*, 2005.
- . "Seeing Disorder: Neighborhood Stigma and the Social Construction of "Broken Windows"." *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Volume 67 2004: 319-342.
- Schulze, Erike, and Susanne Spindler. ""...dann wird man direkt als asozial abgestempelt." Vom Stigma und seinen Folgen." In *Biographische Konstruktionen im multikulturellen Bildungsprozess. Individuelle Standortsicherung im globalisierten Alltag*, by Wolf-D. Bukow, Markus Ottersbach, Elisabeth Tuidar and Erol Yildiz, 63-82. Wiesbaden, 2006.
- Wikipedia Contributors. *Berlin-Friedrichshain*. July 13, 2010. <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin-Friedrichshain> (accessed July 20, 2010).
- . *Berlin-Marzahn*. July 13, 2010. <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin-Marzahn> (accessed July 20, 2010).
- . *Groß-Berlin*. June 7, 2010. <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gro%C3%9F-Berlin> (accessed July 21, 2010).
- . *Großwohnsiedlung*. December 8, 2010. <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gro%C3%9Fwohnsiedlung> (accessed December 8, 2010).

# The influence of stigma on the social (re)production of urban images in Berlin, Germany

---

## Abstract

Urban image, both physical and symbolic, has come to the forefront of urban research in the past 2 decades. The image of a city or district has wide-reaching effects on social services, health services, and economic development. In particular, stigmatization, the labeling of a district with negative modifiers, can jeopardize the economic strength of a city or district as well as the lives and livelihoods of its residents.

Stigma can have many sources. Typical sources from the literature of the last 50 years include signs of physical disorder (trash, graffiti, broken windows, abandoned buildings), signs of social disorder (public drinking and drunkenness, public urination, loitering, panhandling), and demographic characteristics (high concentrations of immigrant populations or social welfare recipients, single mothers, the unemployed and other “undesirables”). In addition, because stigma is inherently linked to a hegemonic value system, changes in the hegemonic value system can directly lead to devaluation of spaces and places. This project addresses these three paths to spatial stigmatization: physical & social disorder, demographic characteristics & changing value systems.

The goals of the project are 1) to empirically test various plausible theories of stigmatization on two districts of former East Berlin and 2) to develop a “district career” that attempts to qualitatively explain the development of the districts since 1990. Plausible theories of stigma are operationalized from Goffman’s stigma theory and are tested through systematic social observation & demographic data. The “district careers” are developed from interviews, demographic data & historical information. The hegemonic perception (stigmatization or lack thereof) is shown or disproved through a lexicometric co-occurrence analysis of newspaper articles.

## Introduction

Spatial image has become an important research topic in the last 10 to 15 years (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). Indeed, the development of offshoot topics such as urban marketing, including “branding” (Fasselt & Zimmer-Hegmann, 2004, 2008), neighborhood and city ranking (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004) and “image management” (Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings & Dean, 2001, 2003) shows the importance of image both as a transmitter of worth and value and as an important urban planning tool.

Image is defined in the English language in two major ways relative to this research project: “a tangible or visible representation” and “a popular conception (as of a person, institution, or nation) projected especially through the mass media” (Merriam-Webster, 2011). This topic is

discussed in detail by Steinführer and Kabisch, who talk at length about the two sides of urban image; the literal **physical and visual representation** of a space (à la Lynch 1960) and the **conceptual and symbolic representation** of a space (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004).

### Physical and Visual Image

Physical and visual aspects of a space include structural characteristics of the built space such as building style, street width, and the presence of trees and green spaces, but also non-structural characteristics such as the presence of graffiti, trash, and broken windows. These negative non-structural characteristics have been characterized in the literature as “signs of disorder”. There are two types of disorder: physical disorder and social disorder. **Physical disorder** includes broken windows, graffiti, trash, vandalism and abandoned houses. **Social disorder** refers to “deviant” social behavior such as public drinking and drunkenness, public urination, loitering, prostitution and panhandling.

These visual cues are important in the transmission of information, in particular in regard to fear of crime (Brunton-Smith & Jackson, 2011; Doran & Lees, 2005; Gau & Pratt, 2008; Hipp, 2010a; Jackson, Gray, & Brunton-Smith, 2010; McGarrell, Giacomazzi, & Thurman, 1997; Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, & Alarid, 2010). As described by Jackson, Gray, & Brunton-Smith (2010), these visual cues carry a symbolic weight, particularly for those not familiar with the neighborhood. They describe signs of disorder as “cues in the environment that signal to observers first a weak social order, second the erosion of shared commitments to dominant norms and values, and third the failure of authorities to regulate behaviour in public space.” These postulations stem from the work of Wilson & Kelling (1982), who described the breakdown and resulting fear of crime in the following way (the so-called “broken windows theory”):

*“A stable neighborhood of families who care for their homes, mind each other's children, and confidently frown on unwanted intruders can change, in a few years or even a few months, to an inhospitable and frightening jungle. A piece of property is abandoned, weeds grow up, a window is smashed. Adults stop scolding rowdy children; the children, emboldened, become more rowdy. Families move out, unattached adults move in. Teenagers gather in front of the corner store. The merchant asks them to move; they refuse. Fights occur. Litter accumulates. People start drinking in front of the grocery; in time, an inebriate slumps to the sidewalk and is allowed to sleep it off. Pedestrians are approached by panhandlers.*

*At this point it is not inevitable that serious crime will flourish or violent attacks on strangers will occur. But many residents will think that crime, especially violent crime, is on the rise, and they will modify their behavior accordingly. They will use the streets less often, and when on the streets will stay apart from their fellows, moving with averted eyes, silent lips, and hurried steps. “Don't get involved.” For some residents, this growing atomization will matter little, because the neighborhood is not their “home” but “the place where they live.” Their interests are elsewhere; they are cosmopolitans. But it will matter greatly to other people, whose lives derive meaning and satisfaction from local attachments rather than worldly involvement; for them, the neighborhood will cease to exist except for a few reliable friends whom they arrange to meet.” (Wilson & Kelling, 1982)*

### Conceptual and Symbolic Image

In contrast to physical and visual image, conceptual and symbolic image is not transmitted through direct observation of the space but rather through **labeling**. The conceptual and symbolic representation of a place occurs through the use of **labels** to describe a space (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). This labeling may take place either formally (through branding, ranking, or image management) or informally, for example through mass media. Labels usually range from a few words (“the big apple”, “little Italy”) to a phrase (“the city that never sleeps”) and concentrate on the locally specific and distinguishing characteristics of the space (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). This may be the dominant industry (“Silicon Valley”, “motor city”, “capitol hill”), a dominant migrant group (“Chinatown”, “little Istanbul”), or some other defining spatial characteristic (“the windy city”, “the mile high city”, “the four corners”).

### Negative Labeling: Stigmatization

Labeling, both formal and informal, can lead to **stigmatization** through the attribution of negatively-regarded characteristics (**stigmata**) (Bürk, 2010; Goffman, 1963). **Hegemonic stigmatization** occurs when the majority cultural group stigmatizes a minority group or groups based on widely-accepted cultural beliefs, norms and mores (the **dominant worldview**). In the urban context, this may be the result of structural changes, changes in the amount of signs of disorder, or changes in the dominant worldview. Such dominant worldviews are inherently linked to scales of relative valuation, with the implicit or explicit identification of a society with a **normed ideal** or **ideals**, and the resulting implicit or explicit identification of **deviants** from that normed ideal/those normed ideals. In the case of neighborhood stigmatization, the neighborhood is defined in some way as “deviant” from the socio-cultural ideal. Dominant worldviews are repeated, enforced, and shaped primarily by media such as television, printed media and the internet, but can also be perpetuated by the professionals (academics, planners, researchers, and scientists) charged with handling these issues.

The American sociologist Erving Goffman brought the idea of stigmatization to the social forefront in 1963 with his book “Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity” (Goffman, 1963). Goffman identified 3 main forms of stigmata: a) bodily deformations, b) negative character traits and c) signs of “race, nation & religion” (Goffman, 1963), which translate into 3 categories in the spatial context (figure 38). In modern Germany, typical social sources of localized or spatially-based stigmatization follow the same pattern as described by Goffman; physical changes leading to a deviation from the cultural ideal of the “clean and orderly” city (“*ordentlichen und sauberen*” Stadt) (Bürk, 2010), “bad behavior” in the form of crime or vandalism, and negatively-valued or deviant (from the normed ideal) resident characteristics such as age, ethnicity, gender or economic or social situation. The author operationalizes Goffman’s theory for urban spaces in figure 38.

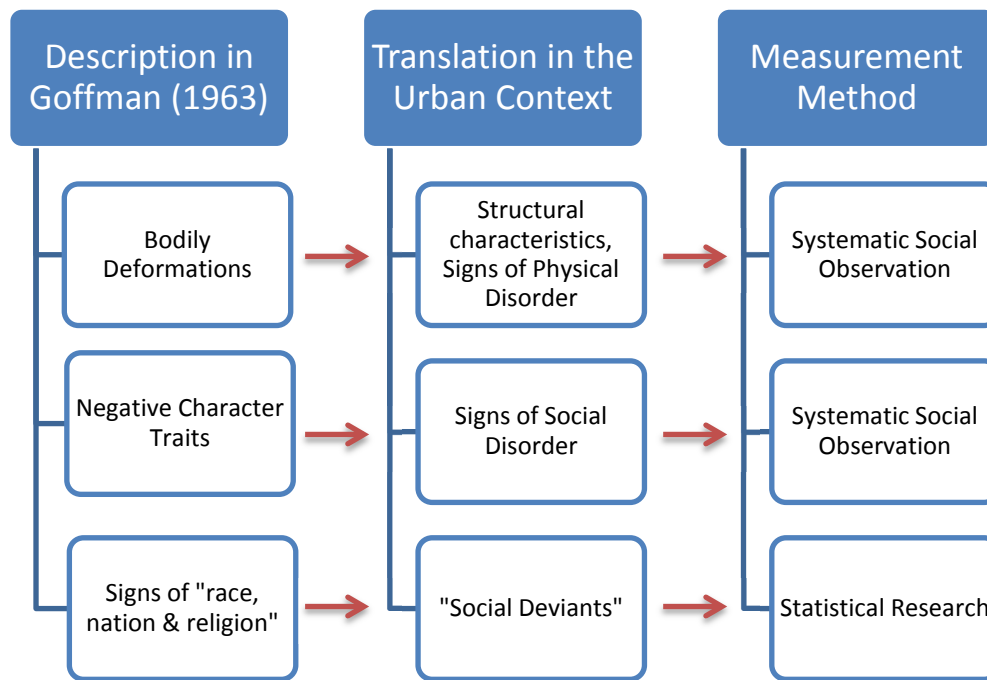


Figure 38. Operationalization of Goffman's Stigma Theory

Bodily deformations here represent the structural and non-structural characteristics of the space including building style but also signs of physical disorder as described in the sections above. Negative character traits translate here as signs of social disorder as described in the sections above. Lastly, Signs of "race, nation & religion" describe residents whose demographic characteristics do not correlate with the socio-cultural ideal. Such characteristics may include race, land of origin, language, age, and religious beliefs, but also deviant "lifestyles" such as single parenthood and unemployment.

#### Sources of Urban Stigmatization in Germany

In addition to the signs of physical and social disorder described above, modern Germany has two specific potential sources of urban stigmatization: ethnic and age structure and prefabricated slab apartment buildings (*Plattenbau*).

According to Sampson & Raudenbush (2004) and Franzini et al (2008), it is not only the physical and structural characteristics of a neighborhood that attribute to the perception of disorder, but its socioeconomic and racial composition as well. In Germany, typical examples are demographic change ("shrinking cities", "aging cities") (Bürk, 2010), and immigrant neighborhoods ("little Istanbul", "klein Moskau") (Ataman, 2009; Merseburger, 1998) with their related problems ("neo-Nazis", "skinheads") (Brailich et al., 2008, 2010).

In addition to these social stigmas, various structural characteristics of built space are also stigmatized. For example, types and qualities of built form are valued differently based on changing socio-cultural value systems, leading in extreme cases to labeling of entire districts. As examined by Brailich, Germes, Schirmel, & Glasze (2008), specific types of built structures (in this case, large blocks of prefabricated slab apartment buildings (German: *Plattenbau*)) are recipients of an inordinate amount of stigmatization throughout Europe. This research is supported by the findings of Rietdorf, Liebmann, & Haller (2001) and Bernt & Kabisch (2006), among others (Aalbers & Rancati, 2008; Arthurson, 2004; Brailich et al., 2010; Brattbakk & Hansen, 2004; Hannemann, 2000; Kinne, 2001; Wassenberg, 2004a, 2004b).



## The Case Study Areas

The author has chosen two districts of former East Berlin as her case study areas – Friedrichshain & Marzahn (figure 39).

Figure 39. The districts of Berlin. The case study areas are highlighted in yellow. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



Friedrichshain is the eastern subdistrict (*Ortsteil*) of the administrative district Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Friedrichshain lies within the Berlin ring train (*Ringbahn*), the main light rail running around the central districts of the city, denoting a rough boundary to pre-1920 Berlin (*Alt-Berlin*). Much like other parts of former East Berlin (the best example being Prenzlauer Berg), the historical buildings of this district were neglected during the time of the German Democratic Republic (1949-1989). Friedrichshain has experienced several waves of industrialization and deindustrialization since the 1920s, culminating in the current repurposing of many former industrial buildings, especially along the Spree River. Since historic times a center of leftist political thought and a haven for students, Friedrichshain's resident demographic has experienced change and resulting social friction as neglected buildings have been renovated and rent prices have begun to rise above levels payable for the formerly predominantly working-class residents.

Marzahn is a subdistrict of the administrative district Marzahn-Hellersdorf and home to the largest slab-built housing complex in Berlin of the same name (Renner, 2009). Marzahn was incorporated into Berlin in 1920 with the signing of the *Groß-Berlin-Gesetz*. At their 8<sup>th</sup> party congress in 1971, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* – *SED*) made the housing shortages in the German Democratic Republic (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik* – *DDR*) a main focus of social policy. The social housing complex in the new district of Marzahn was to be a proving ground for these plans. The majority of the prefabricated apartment buildings were erected between 1976 and 1979, and the original town

green was restored in 1982. In 1987, in connection with the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Berlin, the Berlin garden show (*Berliner Gartenschau*), now known as the Marzahn recreation park including “Gardens of the World” (*Erholungspark Marzahn, Gärten der Welt*), was constructed. Demographic change since the fall of the Berlin Wall has led to varying vacancy rates in the high rise apartment buildings. Recent renovation, removal, and structural changes to many of the buildings has received attention both in and outside of Berlin (Renner, 2009).

## Hypotheses

Urban stigmatization can stem from several different sources, as discussed in the sections above. This project empirically tests common factors in the development of a negative reputation: physical and social signs of disorder and resident characteristics. Both the physical and symbolic aspects of a space work together to reinforce or refute existing perceptions. Based on the literature, one can come to two non-exclusive possible causal relationships.

First, the presence of signs of disorder both physical and social lead to fear of crime (Brunton-Smith & Jackson, 2011; Doran & Lees, 2005; Gau & Pratt, 2008; Hipp, 2010a; Jackson, Gray, & Brunton-Smith, 2010; McGarrell, Giacomazzi, & Thurman, 1997; Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, & Alarid, 2010), redlining (Aalbers, 2007; Jacobs, 1961), and other forms of stigmatization. Therefore, areas with higher signs of disorder (negative physical image) both physical and social should be stigmatized and have a corresponding negative conceptual image (Jackson et al., 2010; Wilson & Kelling, 1982).

Conversely, one would expect the opposite to be true, that negative conceptual image corresponds with negative visual image. The opposite is however shown in the literature (Franzini et al., 2008; Gau & Pratt, 2008; Hipp, 2010; Jackson et al., 2010; O'Brien, Norton, Cohen, & Wilson, n.d.; Pan Ké Shon, 2012; Permentier, Bolt, & Van Ham, 2011; Sun & Triplett, 2008). The research to date posits that conceptual image carries more weight than visual image, in particular for non-residents (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). For that reason, the second causal relationship is that the existence of a negative conceptual image of a space will bias the perception of visual image (for example, a neighborhood with a “bad reputation” may be perceived to have more immigrants, single mothers, and unemployed although the demographic data does not support this).

Germany’s reunification in 1990 adds yet another facet to the research. The political change led to a radical change in value systems (the hegemonic world view) and the perception and valuation of built space structures. Therefore, stigmatization may be the result of the overnight value system change.

These postulations lead to the following 3 hypotheses:

1. Areas with higher observed signs of disorder will have a corresponding negative discourse.
2. Areas with a negative discourse (stigmatized areas) have a subjective higher amount of perceived signs of disorder than are actually present as compared to demographic data.
3. Stigmatization in the case study areas is the result of changes in the hegemonic value system.

## Methods

This research proposal compares the existence or absence of stigma with the existence or absence of signs of disorder. Two methods will be used to test the hypotheses: a comparison between discourse and data and a comparative case study analysis ("district careers").

### Discourse/Data Comparison

Research Question(s):	Does "reality" correspond with perception?
Hypothesis number(s):	1 & 2
Relevant Time Period:	2009-2011
Data:	1. Social & demographic data 2. Neighborhood observations 3. Discourse Analysis
Methods:	1. Data collection 2. Systematic Social Observation (SSO) 3. Lexicometric Analysis of Newspaper Articles

#### 1. Social & demographic data

The author has gathered the following demographic and spatial data about the two case study areas from the period 1992 to 2009. This data is available from the statistic bureau of Berlin (table 13)

**Table 13. Social, demographic, and structural data gathered for the case study areas.**

Category	Title	Measurement
Bauen/Wohnen	Wohnungsfertigstellungen nach Bezirken	Veränderung, %
	Wohnungen	Wohnungen, je 1,000 Einwohner
		Wohnfläche je Einwohner (m2)
		Räume je Einwohner
Bevölkerung	Arbeitslose und Arbeitslosenquoten im Jahresdurchschnitt nach Bezirken	Arbeitslose, Anteil in %
	Bevölkerung am 31. Dezember nach Bezirken, Altersgruppen und Geschlecht	Ausländer, Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung in %
	Ausländer nach Bezirken und ausgewählten Staatsangehörigkeiten	Türkei, Anteil in %
		Polen, Anteil in %
	Bevölkerung nach Bezirken und monatlichem Nettoeinkommen, in Prozent	Nettoeinkommen unter 600 DM/300 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 600 bis 1000 DM/300 bis 500 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 1000 bis 1400 DM/500 bis 700 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 1400 bis 1800 DM/ 700 bis 900 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 1800 bis 2200 DM/900 bis 1100 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 2200 bis 2500 DM/1100 bis 1300 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen 3000 DM und mehr/1500 EUR und mehr, Prozent
		Ohne Einkommen, Prozent
	Privathaushalte nach Bezirken und monatlichem Haushaltsnettoeinkommen, in Prozent	Nettoeinkommen unter 1000 DM/unter 500 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 1000 bis 1800 DM/500 bis 900 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 1800 bis 2500 DM/900 bis 1300 EUR, Prozent

		Nettoeinkommen von 2500 bis 3000 DM/1300 bis 1500 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 3000 bis 4000 DM/1500 bis 2000 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen von 4000 bis 5000 DM/2000 bis 2600 EUR, Prozent
		Nettoeinkommen 5000 DM und mehr/2600 EUR und mehr, Prozent
	Privathaushalte nach Bezirken und Haushaltsgröße	einpersonenhaushalte, prozent
	Wanderungen	Wanderungen über die Grenzen, Saldo, Absolut
Bildung	Bevölkerungsdichte nach Bezirken	Einwohner je Hektar, Gesamtfläche
	Klassen und Schüler der Gymnasien	Schüler, darunter Ausländer, %
	Klassen und Schüler der Hauptschulen	Schüler, darunter Ausländer, %
Öffentliche Strukturen	Kinderspielplätze in öffentlichen Anlagen am 31. Dezember	Kinderspielplätze, je 1000 Einwohner
Sozialleistungen	Empfänger von allgemeinem Wohngeld nach Bezirken	Wohngeld, Empfängerhaushalte, insgesamt, je 1,000 Haushalte
Tourismus	Beherbergungsbetriebe sowie Gäste, Übernachtungen und Aufenthaltsdauer nach Bezirken	Betriebe je 1000 Einwohner
		Gäste je 1000 Einwohner

## 2. Neighborhood observations

Systematic Social Observation (SSO) is a systematic technique developed by Sampson & Raudenbush to measure signs of disorder and their link to crime (Raudenbush & Sampson, 1999; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999; St. Jean, 2007). In their studies, they found that SSO in combination with resident surveys was a good way to generate a source of data about neighborhoods other than that which is collected by official offices such as the census and police records (Raudenbush & Sampson, 1999). All 3 authors mentioned above used a combine person- and video-based approach for collecting systematic observations of physical and social disorder. Raudenbush & Sampson measured frequency of the following characteristics:

**Physical disorder:** *cigarettes, cigars on street or gutter; Garbage, litter on street or sidewalk; Empty beer bottles visible in street; Tagging graffiti; Graffiti painted over; Gang graffiti; Abandoned cars; Condoms on sidewalk; Needles/syringes on sidewalk; Political message graffiti*

**Social disorder:** *adults loitering or congregating; people drinking alcohol: peer group, gang indicators present; people intoxicated; Adults fighting or hostilely arguing; Prostitutes on street; People selling drugs* (Raudenbush & Sampson, 1999; p.15)

These signs of disorder are appropriate for their case study area in Chicago. Other signs of disorder will be appropriate for the case study areas in this research project.

In the same study, Raudenbush & Sampson's observers drove in a car at 5 mph through the cases study neighborhood. The research team consisted of a driver, a videographer and 2 trained observers. The unit of observation was a "block-face", described as the side of the block facing the street. Video recorders fixed on the sides of the vehicle recorded block faces on both sides of the car. Each trained observer wrote their observations for their block face in a log, speaking about significant events on the audio reel of the video recorder in the car. For quality control, a random 10% of the block faces were recoded by new observers (Raudenbush & Sampson, 1999 p. 13-14).

These techniques can be adapted for a smaller budget and work team, and the prevailing conditions in the case study area. The author proposes 2 2-week sessions of SSO in the case study areas, conducted roughly at 6 month intervals (please see timeline).

### 3. Discourse Analysis

“Lexicometrics makes a quantitative and empirical analysis of the links (between elements of discourse) and their temporary relative meanings possible” (translation author) (Brailich et al., 2008). In this approach, a co-occurrence analysis is performed on the nouns, verbs and adjectives in a given text source. The co-occurrence analysis shows which words have a statistically significant relationship to a chosen target word (in the case of this research project, the name of the district) (Brailich et al., 2008). The text sources will be articles from 3 newspapers in Berlin for the time span 2009-2011.

The empirically derived quantitative results from the SSO and lexicometric analysis will be statistically compared in 2 multiple linear regressions with the demographic data as shown in tables 14 & 15 below.

**Tables 14 & 15. Multiple Linear Regressions.**

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Dependent Variable
Discourse as measured through Lexicometric Analysis	Signs of Disorder as measured through SSO & Demographic Data	Signs of Disorder as measured through SSO & Demographic Data	Discourse as measured through Lexicometric Analysis

### Comparative Case Study Analysis – “District Careers”

Research Question(s):	Is stigmatization the result of a change in value systems?
Hypothesis number(s):	3
Relevant Time Period:	1992-2010
Data:	1. Social & demographic data 2. Interviews 3. Historical Information
Methods:	1. Data collection (see table 13) 2. Transcribed & Coded Interviews 3. Historical Research

Expert interviews will be conducted with various expert groups from the city of Berlin, local government officials from the two districts in question, local interest groups, renter protections groups, social housing agencies and urban researchers. The interviews will be transcribed and coded following grounded theory methodology.

The information gleaned from the expert interviews will be combined with a qualitative analysis of demographic data 1992 to present. The combination of these data sources with historical information, including planning measures and urban development plans will be analyzed to ascertain the processes that contributed to the stigmatization (or lack thereof) of these two districts.

### Timeline

2011	July		Conducting & Transcribing Interviews	Summer Semester 2011	2011
				Summer Break	

	August					
			Systematic Social Observation 1			
			VACATION			
	September			Applying for Stipends		
	October					
				Processing Interviews		
	November					
				VACATION		
	December			Processing Interviews		
				VACATION		
2012	January		Systematic Social Observation 2		2012	
	February			Newspaper Analysis		
	March			VACATION		
	April			Processing Systematic Social Observation Results		
	May			Multiple Linear Regressions		
	June			District research, Comparative Case Study Analysis/Development of "District Careers", Finishing reading		
	July					
				VACATION		
	August			Writing		

	September		VACATION		
	October		Writing	Winter Semester 2012/2013	
	November				
	December		SUBMIT FINAL DRAFT		
			Critique		
			VACATION		
2013	January		Correction, Powerpoint Presentation, Bureaucracy	Winter Semester 2012/2013	2013
	Febraury		FINAL SUBMISSION		
			DEFENSE		

Appendix 1.4: Stigma & Disorder in the Urban Context: 3 studies in the relationship between demographics, discourse & disorder in Berlin, Germany, 1990-2010 (24 October 2011)

## ***Stigma & Disorder in the Urban Context***

### *3 studies in the relationship between demographics, discourse & disorder in Berlin, Germany, 1990-2010*

---

#### **Introduction**

Spatial image has become an important research topic in the last 10 to 15 years (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). Indeed, the development of offshoot topics such as urban marketing, including “branding” (Fasselt & Zimmer-Hegmann, 2004, 2008), neighborhood and city ranking (Permentier, Van Ham, & Bolt, 2007; Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004) and “image management” (Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings & Dean, 2001, 2003) shows the importance of image both as a transmitter of worth and value and as an important urban planning tool.

Image is defined in the English language in two major ways relative to this research project: “a tangible or visible representation” and “a popular conception (as of a person, institution, or nation) projected especially through the mass media” (Merriam-Webster, 2011). This topic is discussed in detail by Steinführer and Kabisch, who talk at length about the two sides of urban image; the literal **physical and visual representation** of a space (à la Lynch 1960) and the **conceptual and symbolic representation** of a space (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004).

#### **Physical and Visual Image**

Physical and visual aspects of a space include structural characteristics of the built space such as building style, street width, and the presence of trees and green spaces, but also non-structural characteristics such as the presence of graffiti, trash, and broken windows. These negative non-structural characteristics have been characterized in the literature as “signs of disorder”. There are two types of disorder: physical disorder and social disorder. **Physical disorder** includes broken windows, graffiti, trash, vandalism and abandoned houses. **Social disorder** refers to “deviant” social behavior such as public drinking and drunkenness, public urination, loitering, prostitution and panhandling (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2005).

These visual cues are important in the transmission of information, in particular in regard to fear of crime (Brunton-Smith & Jackson, 2011; Doran & Lees, 2005; Gau & Pratt, 2008; Hipp, 2010a; Jackson, Gray, & Brunton-Smith, 2010; McGarrell, Giacomazzi, & Thurman, 1997; Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, & Alarid, 2010). As described by Jackson, Gray, & Brunton-Smith (2010), these visual cues carry a symbolic weight, particularly for those not familiar with the neighborhood. They describe signs of disorder as “cues in the environment that signal to observers first a weak social order, second the erosion of shared commitments to dominant norms and values, and third the failure of authorities to regulate behaviour in public space.” These postulations stem from the work of Wilson & Kelling (1982), who described the breakdown and resulting fear of crime in their famous “broken windows theory”.



### Conceptual and Symbolic Image

In contrast to physical and visual image, conceptual and symbolic image is not transmitted through direct observation of the space but rather through **labeling**. The conceptual and symbolic representation of a place occurs through the use of **labels** to describe a space (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). This labeling may take place either formally (through branding, ranking, or image management) or informally, most often through mass media. Labels usually range from a few words (“the big apple”, “little Italy”) to a phrase (“the city that never sleeps”) and concentrate on the locally specific and distinguishing characteristics of the space (Steinführer & Kabisch, 2004). This may be the dominant industry (“Silicon Valley”, “motor city”, “capitol hill”), a dominant migrant group (“Chinatown”, “little Istanbul”), or some other defining spatial characteristic (“the windy city”, “the mile high city”, “the four corners”).

### Negative Labeling: Stigmatization

Labeling, both formal and informal, can lead to **stigmatization** through the attribution of negatively-regarded characteristics (**stigmata**) (Bürk, 2010; Goffman, 1963). **Hegemonic stigmatization** occurs when the majority cultural group stigmatizes a minority group or groups based on widely-accepted cultural beliefs, norms and mores (the **dominant worldview**). In the urban context, this may be the result of structural changes, changes in the amount or presence of signs of disorder, or changes in the dominant worldview. Such dominant worldviews are inherently linked to scales of relative valuation, with the implicit or explicit identification of a society with a **normed ideal** or **ideals**, and the resulting implicit or explicit identification of **deviants** from that normed ideal/those normed ideals. In the case of neighborhood stigmatization, the neighborhood is defined in some way as “deviant” from the socio-cultural ideal. Dominant worldviews are repeated, enforced, and shaped primarily by media such as television, printed media and the internet, but can also be perpetuated by the professionals (academics, planners, researchers, and scientists) charged with handling these issues.

The American sociologist Erving Goffman brought the idea of stigmatization to the social forefront in 1963 with his book “Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity” (Goffman, 1963). Goffman identified 3 main forms of stigmata: a) bodily deformations, b) negative character traits and c) signs of “race, nation & religion” (Goffman, 1963), which translate into 3 categories in the spatial context (figure 40). In modern Germany, typical social sources of localized or spatially-based stigmatization follow the same pattern as described by Goffman; physical changes leading to a deviation from the cultural ideal of the “clean and orderly” city (“ordentlichen und sauberen” Stadt) (Bürk, 2010), “bad behavior” in the form of crime or vandalism, and negatively-valued or deviant (from the normed ideal) resident characteristics such as age, ethnicity, gender or socioeconomic situation. The author operationalizes Goffman’s theory for urban spaces in figure 40.

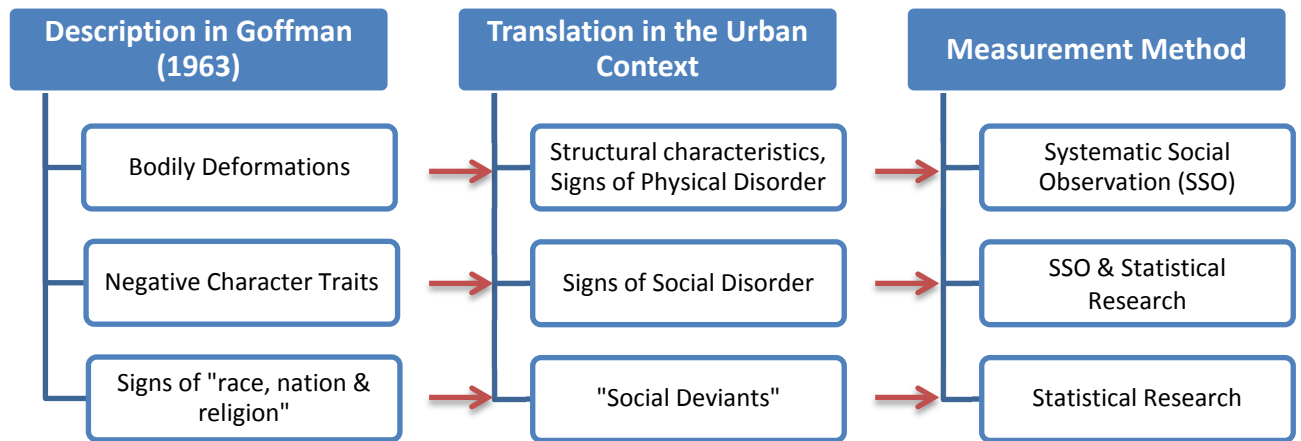


Figure 40. Operationalization of Goffman's Stigma Theory

Bodily deformations here represent the structural and non-structural characteristics of the space including building style but also signs of physical disorder as described in the sections above. Negative character traits translate here as signs of social disorder as described in the sections above. Lastly, Signs of "race, nation & religion" describe residents whose demographic characteristics do not correlate with the socio-cultural ideal. Such characteristics may include race, land of origin, language, age, and religious beliefs, but also deviant "lifestyles" such as single parenthood and unemployment.

#### Sources of Urban Stigmatization in Germany

In addition to the signs of physical and social disorder described above, modern Germany has two specific potential sources of urban stigmatization: ethnic and age structure and prefabricated slab apartment buildings (Plattenbau).

According to Sampson & Raudenbush (2004) and Franzini, Caughy, Nettles, & O'Campo (2008), it is not only the physical and structural characteristics of a neighborhood that attribute to the perception of disorder, but its socioeconomic and racial composition as well. In Germany, typical examples are demographic change ("shrinking cities", "aging cities") (Bürk, 2010), immigrant neighborhoods ("little Istanbul", "klein Moskau") (Ataman, 2009; Merseburger, 1998), and right-wing extremism ("neo-Nazis", "skinheads") (Brailich et al., 2008, 2010).

In addition to these social stigmata, various structural characteristics of built space are also stigmatized. For example, types and qualities of built form are valued differently based on changing socio-cultural value systems, leading in extreme cases to labeling of entire districts. As examined by Brailich, Germes, Schirmel, & Glasze (2008), specific types of built structures (in this case, large blocks of prefabricated slab apartment buildings (German: Plattenbau)) are recipients of an inordinate amount of stigmatization throughout Europe. This research is supported by the findings of Rietdorf, Liebmann, & Haller (2001) and Bernt & Kabisch (2006), among others (Aalbers & Rancati, 2008; Arthurson, 2004; Brailich et al., 2010; Brattbakk & Hansen, 2004; Elsinga & Wassenberg, 1991; Hannemann, 2000; Kinne, 2001; Wassenberg, 2004a, 2004b), and was also supported by the author's interview work in connection with this project.

### The Case Study Areas

The author has chosen portions (Quartiere) of two districts of former East Berlin as her case study areas – eastern Friedrichshain & Großwohnsiedlung (large-scale housing complex) Marzahn. The districts are shown below in figure 41.



Figure 41. The districts of Berlin. The case study areas are highlighted in yellow. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Friedrichshain is the eastern subdistrict (*Ortsteil*) of the administrative district Freidrichshain-Kreuzberg. Friedrichshain lies within the Berlin ring train (*Ringbahn*), the main light rail running around the central districts of the city, denoting a rough boundary to pre-1920 Berlin (*Alt-Berlin*). Much like other parts of former East Berlin (the best example being Prenzlauer Berg), the historical buildings of this district were neglected during the time of the German Democratic Republic (1949-1989). Friedrichshain has experienced several waves of industrialization and deindustrialization since the 1920s, culminating in the current repurposing of many former industrial buildings, especially along the Spree River. Since historic times a center of leftist political thought and a haven for students, Friedrichshain's resident demographic has experienced change and resulting social friction as neglected buildings have been renovated and rent prices have begun to rise above levels payable for the formerly predominantly working-class residents, a process known as gentrification.



Figure 42. The case study area (Eastern Friedrichshain) is denoted by a red solid line. Friedrichshain's administrative border is denoted by a dashed black line. Source: Google Maps.

The eastern portion of Friedrichshain, from the border with Prenzlauer Berg in the North to the border with Kreuzberg in the South, bordering on Lichtenberg in the East and separated from eastern Friedrichshain by Petersburger Straße/Warschauer Straße has experienced the brunt of the gentrification processes in the district. This stems in particular from the renovation districts (*Sanierungsgebiete*) centered around 3 major locations in the neighborhood – Boxhagener Platz, Traveplatz, and Warschauer Straße light rail station (figure 42).



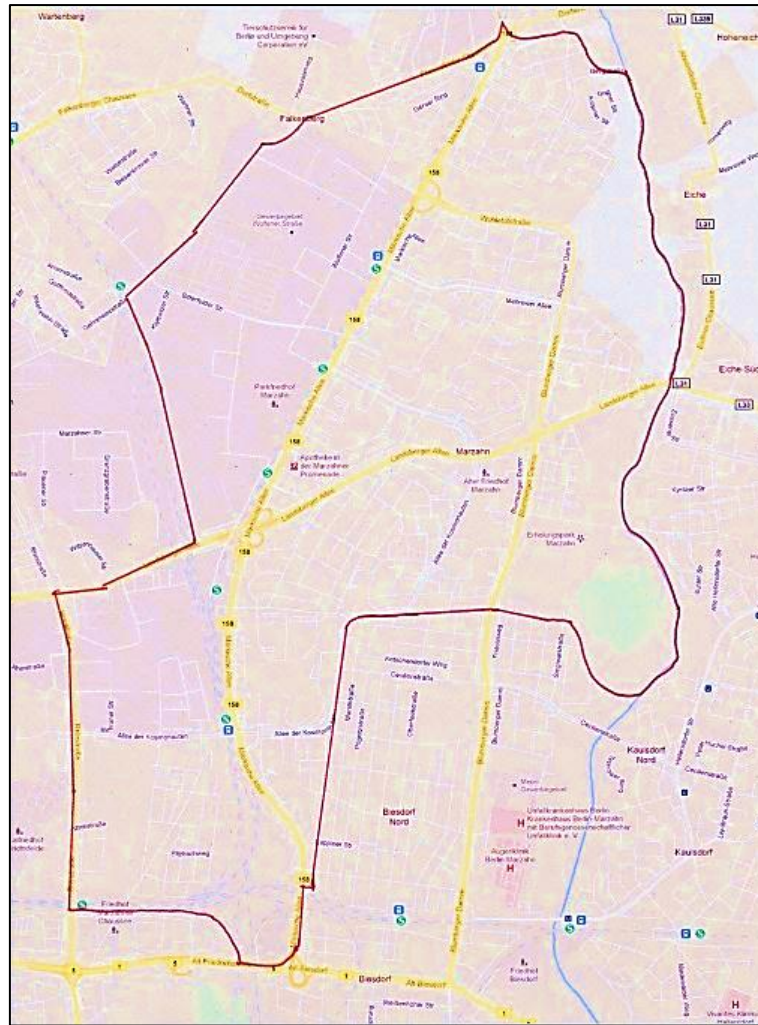


Figure 43. The district of Marzahn (the case study area) is shown in this figure bounded by a solid red line. Source: Google Maps

Marzahn is a subdistrict of the administrative district Marzahn-Hellersdorf and home to the largest slab-built housing complex in Berlin of the same name (Renner, 2009). Marzahn was incorporated into Berlin in 1920 with the signing of the *Groß-Berlin-Gesetz*. At their 8<sup>th</sup> party congress in 1971, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands – SED*) made the housing shortages in the German Democratic Republic (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik – DDR*) a main focus of social policy. The social housing complex in the new district of Marzahn was to be a proving ground for these plans. The majority of the prefabricated apartment buildings were erected between 1976 and 1979, and the original town green was restored in 1982. In 1987, in connection with the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Berlin, the Berlin garden show (*Berliner Gartenschau*), now known as the Marzahn recreation park including “Gardens of the World” (*Erholungspark Marzahn, Gärten der Welt*), was constructed. Demographic change since the fall of the Berlin Wall has led to varying vacancy rates in the high rise apartment buildings. Recent renovation, removal, and structural changes to many of the buildings has received attention both in and outside of Berlin (Renner, 2009).

For her study, the author has chosen the neighborhood known as *Großwohnsiedlung Marzahn*, consisting exclusively of the socialist post-war housing complex built by the SED. This neighborhood consists of 3 administrative districts – Marzahn South (*Marzahn-Süd*), Middle (*Marzahn-Mitte*), and Northwest (*Marzahn-Nordwest*) (figure 43).

## Data Sources

This project has 5 main data sources which will be combined in various ways to answer the 3 research questions.

Data Source	Time required	Planned dates	% completed
Demographic Data	3 Months	January - March 2011	100%
Expert Interviews	6 Months	July - December 2011	70%
Discourse Analysis	4 Months	February - May 2012	0%
Historical Research/ Addt'l Data	1 Month	August 2012	0%
Systematic Social Observation	1.5 Months	January & July 2012	0%

### *Demographic Data*

Between January and March 2011, the author gathered data about the population, public structures, tourism, and building activity in the two case study areas from the period 1992 to 2009. Because of the grounded theory approach, the author gathered all data from the statistic bureau of Berlin that was measured on a district level. In total, the database comprises 138 fields, including number of businesses of various sizes, unemployment, portion of immigrants categorized by nationality, and movement of residents into, out of, and within Berlin, to name a few.

### *Expert Interviews*

In July and August of 2011, expert interviews were conducted with renter advocacy groups, immigration delegates, urban researchers, the director of the “soziale Stadt” program, and other officials. In total 17 in-depth interviews were conducted and transcribed. These interviews will be coded with MaxQDA in November and December of 2011.

### *Discourse Analysis*

To assess the presence and content of the hegemonic discourse about the case study areas, a leximetric data analysis to 2 newspapers in Berlin will be conducted for various time frames for the 3 articles. In this approach, a co-occurrence analysis is performed on the nouns, verbs and adjectives in a given text source. The co-occurrence analysis shows which words have a statistically significant relationship to a chosen target word (in the case of this research project, the name of the district) (Brailich et al., 2008). In the words of Brailich, Germes, Schirmel & Glasze, “Leximetrics makes a quantitative and empirical analysis of the links (between elements of discourse) and their temporary relative meanings possible” (translation author) (Brailich et al., 2008). To reflect the complexity of this portion of the project, 4 months have been allocated for the various analyses (please see specific uses in article descriptions).

### *Historical research/Additional data*

The information gleaned from the interviews will be combined with a qualitative analysis of demographic data and discourse analysis. The combination of these data sources may indicate a need to investigate one or more topics more deeply. For this reason, one month has been allocated for further historical research and supplementary data collection.

### *Systematic Social Observation*

Systematic social observation (SSO) will be used to assess signs of physical and social disorder. Systematic Social Observation is an empirical technique developed by Sampson & Raudenbush to measure signs of disorder and their link to crime (Raudenbush & Sampson,

1999; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999, 2005; St. Jean, 2007). All 3 authors mentioned above used a combine person- and video-based approach for collecting systematic observations of physical and social disorder.

Adapting the techniques of Raudenbush & Sampson (Raudenbush & Sampson, 1999 p. 13-14), the author will photograph all the block faces (defined in the above-mentioned paper as the side of a block facing the street. On each street there are on average two block faces facing each other) in eastern Friedrichshain in winter and in summer. The photos will include the block face from curb to the top of the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor. The photos will be saved following a numbering scheme to facilitate analysis. 2 random double samples (following the technique described in Dellenbaugh, Ducey, & Innes, 2007) of the photos, one for winter and one for summer, will then be analyzed for signs of physical and social disorder.

Raudenbush & Sampson measured frequency of the following characteristics:

**Physical disorder:** *cigarettes, cigars on street or gutter; Garbage, litter on street or sidewalk; Empty beer bottles visible in street; Tagging graffiti; Graffiti painted over; Gang graffiti; Abandoned cars; Condoms on sidewalk; Needles/syringes on sidewalk; Political message graffiti*

**Social disorder:** *adults loitering or congregating; people drinking alcohol: peer group, gang indicators present; people intoxicated; Adults fighting or hostilely arguing; Prostitutes on street; People selling drugs* (Raudenbush & Sampson, 1999; p.15)

These signs of disorder are appropriate for their case study area in Chicago. In Germany, empty beer bottles on the street, graffiti, trash, loitering, public drinking & urination, unrenovated houses, and overflowing trash cans may be examples of signs of physical disorder and signs and indicators of social disorder. In accordance with the grounded theory approach, the double sample of photos will first be analyzed without a pre-existing rubric for all attributes, including building type, renovation of the building, and all street characteristics. Only after the initial cataloging and categorization of the block face attributes will the data be analyzed for content.

## Research Questions & Methods

This research project is a cumulative dissertation comprising 3 articles. For this reason, the methods section has been organized as outlines of the 3 articles that will be written and their respective specific research questions.

### *Article 1 – Is the stigmatization of Marzahn connected to social polarization in East Berlin?*

According to the preliminary analysis, rental prices in the case study area of Marzahn were kept low through a combination of conflicting laws and rapid and dynamic demographic changes in the decade after the reunification of Germany. Several of the parties interviewed indicated that gentrification and the associated increasing rental prices in Friedrichshain are connected to relocation (in their words: *Verdrängung*) of the lower market segment to the city fringes, where there is a large supply of affordable housing. This article examines the existence and extent of a connection between low rental prices in the stigmatized district Marzahn and the process known as social polarization in the case study areas. These phenomena were the

focus of research in Prenzlauer Berg (Holm, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2010) as well as Berlin-wide (Häußermann & Kapphan, 1999, 2002, 2004a; Häußermann et al., 2004; Kapphan, 2002).

For this article, the author will perform a double sampling of dates (see Dellenbaugh et al., 2007) in a 5-year span between 1990 and 2000 (exact dates dependent on data availability) for 2 regional newspapers in Berlin. She will then perform a leximetric co-occurrence analysis for the keyword “Marzahn” to establish the hegemonic discourse surrounding the district after the reunification of Germany.

In addition, she will follow up connections to renter advocacy groups for forced relocations (*Zwangsumzüge*) of welfare recipients in Friedrichshain. A comparison between increases in rental prices throughout Berlin with rental price changes in Marzahn could help indicate if Marzahn is “keeping pace” with the Berlin market. Also important in this analysis will be a thorough analysis of the respective percentages of income brackets (for example <80% of the average, 80%-120% of the average, >120% of the average) in the case study areas over time. This information is available through the micro-census and demographic data already gathered.

The author plans to submit this paper to the journal *Urban Studies*. This journal deals with the social and economic aspects of urban & regional planning, and several of the sources in connection with work for this article were taken from this journal.

### *Article 2 – Signs of disorder or tragedy of the commons? Physical disorder, image, and tourism in the district of Friedrichshain, Berlin, Germany*

Are signs of disorder an implication of neglect or overuse in Friedrichshain? Many researchers have found links between the presence of signs of disorder both physical and social lead to fear of crime (Brunton-Smith & Jackson, 2011; Doran & Lees, 2005; Gau & Pratt, 2008; Hipp, 2010a; Jackson, Gray, & Brunton-Smith, 2010; McGarrell, Giacomazzi, & Thurman, 1997; Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, & Alarid, 2010), redlining (Aalbers, 2007; Jacobs, 1961), and other forms of stigmatization. How can one interpret these same signs of disorder in a neighborhood with a positive image?

Many of the interview partners expressed concern about the role of tourism in Friedrichshain, each describing in their own words a phenomenon known as the tragedy of the commons, where a communally-held resource is depleted due to lack of feelings of personal responsibility on the part of the individual users. To assess whether this may be the case, the author will use the SSO data to establish the presence or absence of signs of disorder in Friedrichshain. She will perform a leximetric co-occurrence analysis in 2 regional Berlin newspapers for the years 2009 and 2010 to establish the hegemonic discourse about Friedrichshain. This basis will be compared with demographic and tourism data and further data collection in regard to tourism to assess whether and to what extent these signs of disorder are the result of neglect or overuse.

The author plans to submit this paper to *Urban Studies* as well. Many of the papers about changing neighborhoods and signs of disorder were published in this journal (Aalbers, 2006; Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Pan Ké Shon, 2007, 2012).



*Article 3 – Apples and Oranges: Stigmatization of large scale housing projects in Berlin-Marzahn after 1990: The role of changing hegemonic value systems after the reunification of Germany*

Is the stigmatization of Marzahn the result of overnight changes in the hegemonic value system? Germany's reunification in 1990 adds yet another facet to the research of district stigmatization. The reunification of Germany led to a radical change in value systems (the hegemonic world view) and the perception and valuation of built space structures.

To empirically assess this postulation, the author will compare hegemonic discourse about West German high-rise social housing complexes as established by the work of Brailich and his coauthors (Brailich et al., 2008, 2010) with the hegemonic discourse about Marzahn after 1990 to attempt to locate structural similarities in the discourses. The author will use the discourse analysis from article 1 for this comparison. In addition, demographic data about Marzahn for the same time period will be analyzed to assess correlations between the demographic data and the reputation of the district.

The author plans to submit this paper to the Journal of Housing & the Built Environment. Several of her sources about stigmatized districts are published in this journal (for example Aalbers, 2007; Arthurson, 2004; Brattbakk & Hansen, 2004; Elsinga & Wassenberg, 1991; Hastings, 2004; Wassenberg, 2004a, 2004b).

## Timeline

2011	November		MaxQDA	Winter Semester 2011/2012	2011		
			VACATION				
	December		MaxQDA				
			VACATION				
2012	January		MaxQDA	Winter Semester 2011/2012	2012		
			Systematic Social Observation 1				
	February		Newspaper Analysis	Spring Break			
	March		VACATION	Summer Semester 2012			
	April		Newspaper Analysis			Summer Break	
	May		Systematic Social Observation 2				Winter Semester 2012/2013
	June		Historical research/Additional Data				
			VACATION				
	August		Writing Article 1				
	September		VACATION				
	October		Writing Article 2				
	November		Writing Article 3				
December		VACATION					
2013	January		Correction, Powerpoint Presentation, Bureaucracy	Winter Semester 2012/2013	2013		
	February		DEFENSE				

## 3 Case Studies in the Production of Topographic Discourse in and about East Berlin, 1950 to 2010

---

Dissertation, Mary Dellenbaugh, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Geography Department

In Berlin, the tensions of the Cold War took on their most intensive form, physically, politically & ideologically. During the 40 years during which Germany and Berlin were divided, the two parts of the city developed away from each other physically, economically & ideologically, a competition that played itself out markedly in the urban landscape. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, significant changes to the symbolic infrastructure of the city were undertaken, often at the expense of other projects. These acts reflect the cultural and spatial (re)appropriation of the Eastern half of the city by the West.

As opposed to other Eastern European countries, in East Germany the Cultural Revolution of 1990 was not an assumption of a new system, but the replacement of the institutions in East Germany with those that had developed in the intervening 40 years in West Germany. In the years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, socialist structures both physical and institutional were dismantled, demolished, stigmatized, renamed, and reframed to fit the new hegemonic worldview. As in other Eastern European cities, this process included renaming streets, removing monuments and buildings, and building new structures (Andrusz et al., 1996; Tölle, 2010).

These deeds represent the dominance of one culture over another. Officially-sanctioned symbolic spaces often serve to mass-produce traditions by legitimizing the hegemonic worldview (Azaryahu, 1997; Hobsbawm, 1992); "from this perspective urban identity becomes a product of deliberate selection processes by urban elites and governments in order to create the intended narrative or story" (Tölle, 2010, p. 349). This is particularly important where the tradition or worldview is under debate, for example in times of revolution and radical change (Azaryahu, 1997; De Soto, 1996; Hobsbawm, 1992; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). The commemoration of space through the naming of places and consecration of memorials, as well as the de-commemoration of space through the replacement of existing names and the removal of existing monuments, represents an ideological domination through spatial domination (Azaryahu, 1997; De Soto, 1996; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010), hearkening back to Lefebvre's claim that "one of the consistent ways to limit the economic and political rights of groups has been to constrain social reproduction by limiting access to space" (quoted in De Soto, 1996, p. 33).

These acts select an appropriate version of historical events to portray as "the" past by selecting from among the many possible historical discourses (Wodak, 1994). In this respect, "the" past as a historical narrative is a subjective selection, a politicized ideology, and a discursive process that draws its authority from "language, ... which it derives from its power to produce existence by producing the collectively recognized, and thus realized, representation of existence" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 42). The inculcation of these ideologies into the landscape makes them

ordinary, even banal, and allows the politicized historical narrative to become part of the 'natural order' through "a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 4). The selection of one history at the cost of all others underlines the legitimacy of the dominant cultural group and simultaneously the illegitimacy of all other groups and viewpoints; "The results of these naming struggles have a direct bearing on whose vision of 'reality' will appear to matter socially, since landscapes are not just the products of social power but also tools or resources for achieving it" (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010, p. 462, 463).

The selection, portrayal and canonization of a selective historical narrative form a discursive practice set in motion by one or more powerful actors and carried on by other lesser distributors (for example, mass media, professionals & academics) (Altrock et al., 2010). Therefore, research methods such as discourse analysis and interviews are particularly well-suited to the answering of such questions. This research project investigates the change in the spatially-linked discursive constitution of three East Berlin districts both before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall: Marzahn, Mitte & Friedrichshain. These three districts represent three very different physical and symbolic situations.

Berlin-Marzahn was the largest of the socialist housing schemes built in Germany, and was imbued therefore with a distinct symbolism for the German Democratic Republic (GDR), most importantly as a symbol of the idealized socialist lifestyle and the victory of socialism. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Marzahn and the other complexes of its style were suddenly and radically stigmatized. Article 1 examines possible cultural reasons for this course of events.

Berlin-Mitte was the historical seat of government, for the monarchs, the Weimar Republic, the Nazi Regime, and the GDR. After German Reunification, the decision was made to return the seat of government to Berlin, but first the urban landscape had to be "cleansed" of the socialist legacy. Article 2 examines these planning acts in light of a culture of belonging in Berlin after 1990.

Berlin-Friedrichshain was the initial focus of urban planning in "Berlin, capital of the GDR", as it was known in East Germany. The "first socialist street", Stalinallee, was built as a tribute to the socialist way of life, and the district was developed, at least officially, as an inner-city workers' district. Drastic changes after reunification have led to Friedrichshain's rapid gain in popularity. Article 3 examines place-making devices both before and after reunification, and compares and contrasts the spatial distribution of socialist and post-socialist discourses in and about the district.

## **Article 1. The Stigmatization of Berlin-Marzahn as an Expression of Western Cultural Hegemony in Reunified Germany**

After the fall of socialism and communism in Eastern Europe in 1990, political place-making in the form of renaming, reforming, reframing, and rebuilding was common. Particularly in the case of large scale socialist slab housing complexes (German: *Großwohnsiedlung*, also, pejoratively "Platte", literally "slab"), and in this article the Berlin district Marzahn, were stigmatized after the fall of the Berlin Wall, a process that seems self-evident in hindsight. Indeed, this issue is embedded in matters no less complicated than symbolic capital and hegemonic dominance, German national identity, and the symbolism of architecture. In a critical analysis of urban development in Berlin after 1990, particularly in respect to Berlin as the new

seat of German government and model of German identity, this article attempts to explain the stigmatization of the district of Berlin-Marzahn in terms of symbolic capital.

## **Article 2. The sanitization of Berlin-Mitte's socialist past after reunification, and its implications for symbolic dominance in "everyday" space and the crisis of "belonging" in a new imposed cultural context**

"Urban space has a symbolic dimension, as the built environment projects messages about who, historically and in the present, should be entitled to feel at home in it" (Strom, 2001); this "symbolic dimension" is neither coincidental nor neutral, but rather the expression of political, economic and cultural power. In this respect, one can talk about urban planning providing the tools to include, exclude, and express cultural dominance by literally forming, naming and ordering the world (Bourdieu, 1992; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). Undeniably, those in power, whether they are part of a respected aesthetic or academic elite or vested with political or economic authority, decide through their actions who and what "belongs" in the landscape, and thereby add to the normalization of their historical narrative through toponymic inscription (Dellenbaugh, 2013). These acts are particularly valuable tools in the expression of cultural hegemony where value systems are in flux.

This paper examines place-making as a tool for cultural dominance in East Berlin after German reunification. Berlin was used not only as a showcase for the triumph of the West, but also heralded as a "new start" for Germany, whose national identity was still deeply affected by the legacy of the Second World War. The Berlin district of Mitte, the location of the new unified seat of government, felt these growing pains acutely, in particular as Berlin's civic identity became inseparable from a sought after and idealized German national identity. As West German politicians and elites cleared away the remains of the socialist legacy from the urban landscape, many residents asked themselves whose Berlin, and in corollary whose Germany, they were constructing.

The research questions addressed in this paper are:

- What happens when the change comes to the resident as opposed to the other way around?
- Who has the right to determine the boundaries and definition of space, and how does this serve to disenfranchise one or more parties involved in the spatially-embedded linguistic exchange?
- How do we understand these questions in the context of German reunification, and in particular in the urban landscape of Berlin's central district?

## **Article 3. The Friedrichshain Discourse 1950 to 2010: The changing symbolic role of Berlin-Friedrichshain in socialist and post-socialist contexts**

Similar to other districts in other socialist cities, the Berlin district of Friedrichshain underwent significant symbolic and structural changes in the years following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Places imbued with particular symbolic meaning by the fallen socialist regime lost their significance in some cases overnight, while other spaces gained in importance within the new context of postmodernism, postfordism & capitalism. This led the once-stolid working class

neighborhood to become one of the hottest party scenes in Europe, with a thriving club and party scene and booming hospitality branch, but also rising rental rates and widespread “sorting out” of the once primarily working-class residents.

This article discusses the possible factors surrounding this discursive shift as embedded in the social, political and economic context of the time. In particular, the research focuses on the use of and selective emphasis of specific spatial characteristics and place-making devices to call forth images of the neighborhood, and, in conjunction, the city and nation to which it belongs, both before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

## Timeline

2010	July	Writing Expose
	August	
	September	
	October	
	November	
	December	
2011	January	Literature search, Gathering Demographic Data
	February	
	March	
	April	Processing and entering demographic data
	May	
	June	Rewriting Exposé, Preparing for Interviews
	June	
	July	Conducting & transcribing interviews
	August	
	September	Analyzing & summarizing interviews
	October	
	November	Background Research
	December	
2012	January	Writing Article 1
	February	
	March	Submit Article 1, Abschluss Stipends, Conference Applications
	April	Post-Doc Project, Orga
	May	Writing Article 2
	June	
	July	
	August	Post-Doc Project, Orga
	September	Review & Submit Article 2
	October	Conferences
	November	Writing article 3
	December	
2013	January	Review & Submit Article 3, Synthesizing Articles into "Gesamtwerk", Powerpoint, Bureaucracy
	February	
	March	
	April	DEFENSE

## **Appendix 2 – Interview Questions**

## Appendix 2.1: Request for Interview & Interview Guideline, Round 1

Sehr geehrte(r) XXX,

Mein Name ist Mary Dellenbaugh, ich bin Doktorandin an der Humboldt-Universität und ich würde Sie gerne im Rahmen meiner Doktorarbeit „The influence of stigma on the social (re)production of urban images in Berlin, Germany“ (Der Einfluss von Stigmata auf die soziale Entwicklung von städtische Images in Berlin) als Experten interviewen.

Meine Arbeit handelt von durch einen Stigmatisierungsprozess beeinflussten Wahrnehmung der Stadtteile Friedrichshain und Marzahn. Durch das langfristige Hervorheben negativer Aspekte von Bezirken, sowohl visuell als konzeptuell (z.B. in den Medien) bildet sich ein „schlechter Ruf“. Typische Beispiele für solche Bezeichnungen innerhalb Berlins sind das „sozial schwache Viertel“, das „Arbeitsviertel“, „little Istanbul“, die „Trabantenstadt“, oder allgemein der „Problem Kiez“. Die Bezeichnung von Städten und Stadtteilen mit solchen Labels kann zu besonders schweren Handlungssituationen führen, in denen Maßnahmen um das Image zu verbessern nicht mehr wirksam sind, auch wenn der „Ruf“ und die Realität nicht mehr übereinstimmen. Forschungen zum Thema Stigmatisierungsprozesse in der Konstruktion von Urban Images spielen eine besonders wichtige Rolle für den Erfolg und die Wirksamkeit von städtebaulichen und soziale Maßnahmen in sogenannte „Problem Kieze“.

Ich möchte Perspektiven aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln, sowohl von Experten vor Ort (Stadtteilzentren, Mietervereine, usw.), als auch von fachlichen Experten (Stadtentwicklung, Stadtforschern, usw.) sammeln, um ein Gesamtbild zu konstruieren.

Dazu möchte ich Ihnen folgende Fragen stellen:

1. Was sind die größten Nachteile oder Probleme von Friedrichshain/Marzahn?
2. Was sind die größten Vorteile von Friedrichshain/Marzahn?
3. Wie betrachten ihrer Meinung nach Außenstehende Friedrichshain/Marzahn? Wie ist der „Ruf“?
4. Welchen Einfluss hat der „Ruf“ gegenüber offiziellen Stellen sowie der Bevölkerung? Wie ist der „Reaktion“ gegen der „Ruf“? Wie oder woran macht das sich bemerkbar?
5. Was für Menschen leben und arbeiten in Friedrichshain/Marzahn?
6. Welche von diesen Gruppen „prägen“ das Bild der Viertel, aktiv oder passiv?
7. Haben sich die Bezirke nach 1990 verändert, und wenn ja, wie?
8. Haben sich die verschiedenen Gruppen im Laufe der Zeit verändert, und wenn ja, wie?

Das Interview dauert voraussichtlich eine halbe bis dreiviertel Stunde und kann selbstverständlich bei Ihnen vor Ort stattfinden. Um möglichst viele und genaue Ergebnisse zu erzielen, würde ich das Interview gern aufnehmen, um es anschließend zu transkribieren und zu analysieren.

Über eine Rückmeldung ihrerseits würde ich mich sehr freuen. Für eine Terminabsprache oder Rückfragen bin ich unter 030/XX XX XX XX zu erreichen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,



## Appendix 2.2: Request for Interview & Interview Guideline, Round 2

Sehr geehrte(r) XXX,

mein Name ist Mary Dellenbaugh, ich bin Doktorandin an der Humboldt-Universität und ich würde Sie gerne im Rahmen meiner Doktorarbeit „2 Case Studies in the Production of Topographic Discourse in and about East Berlin, 1990 to 2010“ (Zwei Fallbeispiele in der Produktion von räumliche Diskurs in und über Berlin-Ost, 1990 bis 2010) als Experten interviewen.

Dieser Artikel, der zweite von drei in meiner kumulativer Dissertation, handelt um bauliche und symbolische Änderungen in Berlin-Mitte unmittelbar nach der Wende und die politische, ideologische und ästhetische Diskurse die dahinter stecken. Hierfür möchte ich Perspektiven aus verschiedenen fachlichen Blickwinkeln (Stadtentwicklung, Stadtforschern, Soziologen, Architekten, Senat, usw.) sammeln, um ein Gesamtbild zu konstruieren. Ich bin überzeugt, dass die Perspektiven aus Ihre persönliche und berufliche Erfahrung einem wichtigen Beitrag zu meiner Arbeit leisten könnten.

Die unten genannten Punkte sollten als Leitfaden für die Diskussion dienen:

1. Bitte fassen Sie Ihre Biografie und Erfahrung mit Berlin kurz zusammen.
2. Bitte beschreiben Sie allgemein die Änderungen in Berlin in den frühen 90er. Wie war der Zeitgeist?
3. Bitte beschreiben Sie die baulichen Änderungen in Berlin-Mitte in den 90er. Thematische Stichpunkte:
  - a. Allgemeine Änderungen: Straßenumbenennungen, Kritische Rekonstruktion, Planwerk Innenstadt, Abbau DDR Monumente, Andere, die ich hier nicht gelistet habe?
  - b. Akteure: Treuhandanstalt, Stadtforum, Stadtverwaltung, „Besserwessis“?, Andere, die ich hier nicht gelistet habe?
  - c. Wichtige Orte und Projekte: Friedrichstraße, Alexanderplatz, Palast der Republik/Stadtschloss, Andere, die ich hier nicht gelistet habe?
4. Welche Änderungen scheinen Ihnen in dem Diskurs dominant oder wichtig zu sein? Welche würden heiß diskutiert? In welchen Diskurs (akademisch, Fachelite, öffentlich, politisch), und möglicherweise zu welchen Zwecken?
5. Warum, Ihre Meinung nach?
6. Welche Änderungen würden nicht so diskutiert oder ggf. sogar unterdrückt? In welchen Diskurs (akademisch, Fachelite, öffentlich, politisch), und möglicherweise zu welchen Zwecken?
7. Warum, Ihre Meinung nach?

Das Interview dauert voraussichtlich eine halbe bis dreiviertel Stunde und kann selbstverständlich in einer Ort Ihrer Wahl stattfinden. Um möglichst viele und genaue Ergebnisse zu erzielen, würde ich

Über eine Rückmeldung ihrerseits würde ich mich sehr freuen. Für eine Terminabsprache oder Rückfragen bin ich unter 030/XX XX XX XX zu erreichen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

### **Appendix 3 – Examples of Newspaper Keyword Search Results**



Druckansicht Trefferliste

Ihre Suche hat 26 Treffer ergeben.

Suchbegriffe: Marzahn , 01.01.1980 bis 09.11.1989

Datum	Titel	Quellen
17.10.1989	<b>Neues aus der Friedrichsstrasse/"Herzlich willkommen" - eine gesamtdeutsche Familientragödie in 476 ...</b> Bis letzten Dienstag, dem Tag als der erste Teil unserer Erfolgsserie erschien, wohnten die Schultzes, ... Autor: ehrlich/riedel 686 Wörter 2.74 EUR ... man hier braucht. Dass sich diese Marzahn-Schranzen ueberhaupt noch mit ihren ausgelatschten VEB-Modellen ...	taz (1988-1992)
08.09.1989	<b>Schlechter Witz-betr.: "Alles eine Frage der Groesse", taz vom 4.9.89</b> betr.: "Alles eine Frage der Groesse", taz vom 4.9.89/Ich hab' an sich nichts gegen Geschmacklosigkeiten, ... 142 Wörter 2.74 EUR ... wollte, lockte der Foelkerfreundschaftsvick im schoenen Marzahn!". Ich denke mal wieder, ich hab' ...	taz (1988-1992)
21.08.1989	<b>Russischer Bauminister besuchte Bausuenden</b> Zufrieden mit den Ergebnissen ihres 44stuendigen Besuchs in Berlin haben sich gestern der Vorsitzende ... 112 Wörter 2.74 EUR ... zu einem Besuch des Ostberliner Neubaubezirks Marzahn, was nach Mitteilung Nagels 'ohne groessere ...	taz (1988-1992)
01.08.1989	<b>UNIVERSITAET BREMEN/ Naturwissenschaften nehmen einen immer breiteren Raum/ein. Die "rote Kaderschmiede" ...</b> UNIVERSITAET BREMEN/ Naturwissenschaften nehmen einen immer breiteren Raum ein. Die "rote Kaderschmiede" ... 1221 Wörter 3.45 EUR ... von Professoren- in Mittelbaustellen. Dabei, bemaengelt Marzahn, werde manchmal uebersehen, dass fuer diese ... ... der eigentlich noetigen Projektstudienplaetze fehlt, haelt Marzahn Bremen noch immer fuer einen vergleichsweise ...	Handelsblatt
15.07.1989	<b>DEE-DAY/Georgette Dee &amp; Terry Truck "Die Narkotikerin" im Unart</b> Die Drops, die die honneurs macht, will nicht glauben, dass da, eine Woche nach der Premiere, noch wer ... Autor: th.keck 502 Wörter 2.74 EUR ... Vorbild der Damenwaeschetraeger von Spandau bis Marzahn, hat Formprobleme. Dabei ist die Form, ...	taz (1988-1992)
09.05.1989	<b>Professorale Stille: Woher?/1974 und 1977 gingen Bremer ProfessorInnen mit Manifesten gegen Isolationshaft ...</b> Die zweite der fuer humanere Haftbedingungen streikenden RAFlerInnen ist ins Gefaengnis Krankenhaus verlegt ... Autor: uta stolle 594 Wörter 2.74 EUR ... sich aber schnell wieder aendern. Christian Marzahn ("OH! Das ist ein delikates Thema!"), ... ... zirkulierende Aufrufe entsprechen nicht dem, was Marzahn nennt, ein "grosses Beduerfnis festzustellen, wo ...	taz (1988-1992)
19.04.1989	<b>Wider die historischen Fakten-betr.: "Dabei kommen belanglose Gedenkstaetten raus", taz vom 13.4.89, ...</b> Betr.: "Dabei kommen belanglose Gedenkstaetten raus", taz vom 13.4.89, und "Perspektive Berlin" wuerdigt ... 502 Wörter 2.74 EUR ... Lager gesteckt, eines sogar in Berlin-Marzahn; zu den Olympischen Spielen 1936 sollte ...	taz (1988-1992)
03.04.1989	<b>Uni-Rektor schreibt nett/Zu Semesterbeginn macht Rektor Timm der Bremer Universitaet gutes Wetter / Appell ...</b> Einen verstaendnisvoll-hoeflich moralischen dreiseitigen Brief mit wiederholten eindringlichen Appellen ...	taz (1988-1992)



Druckansicht Trefferliste

Ihre Suche hat 81 Treffer ergeben.

Suchbegriffe: Marzahn , 09.11.1989 bis 1.11.1993

Datum	Titel	Quellen
24.09.1992	Politik Thierse: Konsequentes Vorgehen gegen Rechtsradikale/Auf rechtem Auge blind?/85 Prozent sind gegen die ... BERLIN(AP/dpa) - Im Gegensatz zu Hans-Jochen Vogel (SPD) hat der stellvertretende SPD-Vorsitzende Wolfgang ... 248 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... und im Saarland verübt. In Berlin-Marzahn flog ein Molotowcocktail auf einen Treppenabsatz ...	Nürnberger Nachrichten
07.09.1992	WIRTSCHAFT Holzmann greift in Ost-Berlin zu Frankfurter Konzern will Fertigteilwerke der Intech Bau-Union modernisieren wüp. BERLIN. Der Frankfurter Baukonzern Philipp Holzmann hat von der Treuhandanstalt das größte Bauunternehmen ... 367 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... Plattenbaustil, vorwiegend in den Ost-Berliner Trabantenstädten Marzahn, Hohenschönhausen und Hellersdorf. Der neue Eigentümer ...	Stuttgarter Zeitung
04.08.1992	SPORT Nur sportlich zeichnet sich Wecker durch Stetigkeit aus Silber und zweimal Bronze gewonnen / Der Kunstturner bietet viele Reibungsflächen / Am "Abschuß" von ... 14 Minuten lang konnte sich Andreas Wecker als Olympiasieger fühlen, dann war der Traum beendet. Eine ... 542 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... großen Wohnung in der Berliner "Plattenbausiedlung" Marzahn lag er zwei Wochen mit einer ...	Stuttgarter Zeitung
04.08.1992	SPORT Nur sportlich zeichnet sich Wecker durch Stetigkeit aus Silber und zweimal Bronze gewonnen / Der Kunstturner bietet viele Reibungsflächen / Am "Abschuß" von ... 14 Minuten lang konnte sich Andreas Wecker als Olympiasieger fühlen, dann war der Traum beendet. Eine ... 542 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... großen Wohnung in der Berliner "Plattenbausiedlung" Marzahn lag er zwei Wochen mit einer ...	Stuttgarter Zeitung
20.07.1992	POLITIK Um fünf vor zwölf ist das Selbstmitleid mit Händen zu greifen Im Ostberliner Betonviertel Marzahn wird ein "Komitee für Gerechtigkeit" gegründet / Von Joachim Rogge Die Ordnungsmacht hinter sich zu wissen, tut gut. Dankbar und mit Beifall registriert das Grüppchen der ... 605 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... im Zentrum der Betonwüste von Berlin-Marzahn, genausowenig Notiz wie die Wochenendeinkäufer, die ... ... vietnamesischen Zigarettenverkäufern eindecken. Bald aber soll Marzahn erfahren, was sich im ersten Stock ... ... DDR-Bürgerin "nicht mehr schämen" müssen. In Marzahn sind es überwiegend "abgewinkelte" Kader der ...	Stuttgarter Zeitung
20.07.1992	Erste 'Komitees für Gerechtigkeit' im Osten gegründet Berlin. (Reuter) Eine Woche nach dem Aufruf von 69 Prominenten zur Gründung einer ostdeutschen Sammlungsbewegung ... Autor: REUTER 201 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... für Gerechtigkeit' nahmen im Berliner Stadtbezirk Marzahn etwa 50, in Dresden rund 400 ... ... Wohnen, Arbeitslosigkeit und Kultur verabredet. In Marzahn, wo die PDS bei den Kommunalwahlen ...	Bonner General-Anzeiger





## Druckansicht Trefferliste

Ihre Suche hat 81 Treffer ergeben.

Suchbegriffe: Marzahn , 09.11.1989 bis 1.11.1993

Datum	Titel	Quellen
08.04.1993	Politik Gegen Geschäftsmann wird ermittelt/Bei ABM betrogen?/Bundesanstalt für Arbeit geschädigt/Gegen Geschäftsmann ... BERLIN(dpa) - Gegen einen Ostberliner Geschäftsmann wird wegen Betrugsverdachts im Zusammenhang mit staatlichen ... 99 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... wird vorgeworfen, mit seiner in Berlin-Marzahn ansässigen Firma arbeitslose Ingenieure und Techniker ...	Nürnberger Nachrichten
07.04.1993	Politik Berliner Sicherheitskräfte gehen nun mit Sondereinsatzkommandos gegen die immer gewalttätiger operierende ... BERLIN- Kurz nach Sonnenaufgang war der langgestreckte elfgeschossige Plattenbau im Ostberliner Bezirk ... Autor: Englisch Erhard 615 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... langgestreckte elfgeschossige Plattenbau im Ostberliner Bezirk Marzahn umstellt. Punkt sieben Uhr forderten Polizisten ...	Nürnberger Nachrichten
20.03.1993	ZEITGESCHEHEN Am Lagerfeuer lodert der Haß nicht mehr so hoch Am Lagerfeuer lodert der Haß nicht mehr so hoch/Wenn verfeindete Jugendbanden in einem Boot sitzen/Von ... 851 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... aus den Hochhaus-ghettos im Osten, aus Marzahn oder Lichterfelde, sind arbeitslos. Ihre Jugendclubs ...	Saarbrücker Zeitung
05.02.1993	Politik Trotz Strafen werden sie immer noch einfach stehen gelassen/Trabis - eine teure Altlast/Allein 1992 mußten ... BERLIN- Es dauerte nur einen Monat, dann hatten sich die Befürchtungen skeptischer Stadtbeamter als richtig ... Autor: Englisch Erhard 486 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... verkommen", entrüstete sich beispielsweise der Ostbezirk Marzahn. Schipke mußte weiter auf Suche gehen. ...	Nürnberger Nachrichten
04.12.1992	Politik Die Spirale der brutalen Gewalt dreht sich immer schneller/Chronologie des Schreckens: In den letzten ... Der tödliche rechte Terror hatte lange vor Mölln und Eberswalde begonnen, lange vor der Vereinigung und ... Autor: Fuehr Herbert 785 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... stirbt. 25. April 1992 In Berlin-Marzahn wird der 29jährige Vietnamese Nguyen Van ...	Nürnberger Nachrichten
03.12.1992	POLITIK Stets in Angst vor Polizei und Rechtsradikalen Die Vietnamesen im Osten warten auf ein erlösendes Wort aus Bonn / Von Joachim Rogge Wenn Andreas Röhl, Bezirksbürgermeister in Berlin-Marzahn, aus seinem Amtsgebäude mitten in der Plattenbauwüste ... 780 Wörter 2.38 EUR ... Wenn Andreas Röhl, Bezirksbürgermeister in Berlin-Marzahn, aus seinem Amtsgebäude mitten in der ... ... in Berlin, zumeist in Ostbezirken wie Marzahn oder Hohenschönhausen. Lediglich 700 von ihnen ...	Stuttgarter Zeitung
24.11.1992	POLITIK 16 Menschen von Rechtsextremisten getötet Bereits 1912 Gewalttaten in diesem Jahr - Ausländerhaß und Rassismus meist Triebfeder Fremdenhaß und rassistische Krawalle haben in diesem Jahr bereits 16 Menschen das Leben gekostet; im ...	Stuttgarter Zeitung